



*Mr. Squires.*

FULL and AUTHENTIC  
 ACCOUNT  
 OF THE

*Strange and Mysterious Affair*

B E T W E E N

MARY SQUIRES a Gypsy, and  
*X Elizabeth Canning,*

Who swore that she was robbed, and afterwards  
 confined by the *Gypsy*, till she was almost starved;  
 for which the *Gypsy* was condemned to Death,  
 but afterwards received his Majesty's Pardon.

With all the Particulars of the TRIAL of *Elizabeth  
 Canning* afterwards, upon an Indictment for a  
 False Accusation, &c. of the *Gypsy*; which began  
 at the *Old Bailey* on *Monday* the 29th of *April*,  
 1754, and continued till *Tuesday* the seventh  
 of *May*.

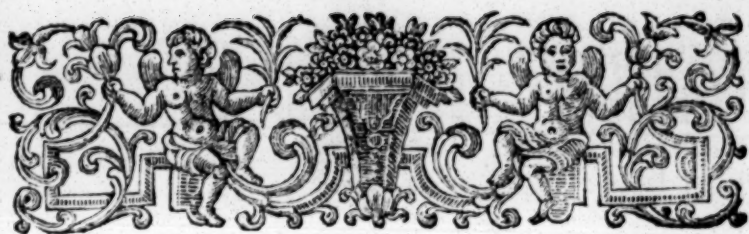
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M U G G S





A Full and Authentic

# A C C O U N T

O F T H E

*Strange and Mysterious Affair*

B E T W E E N

MARY SQUIRES a Gypsy, and  
*Elizabeth Canning.*



HERE has been nothing in the Memory of Man, that has so much embarrassed the Public, as the Affair between MARY SQUIRES the *Gypsy*, and ELIZABETH CANNING, a Servant Girl; which has for above fifteen Months past engrossed almost the whole Attention, Conversation, and En-  
B quiry.

quiry of the Public. There is such a Mixture of Contradictions and Probabilities, or at least Possibilities, that it has puzzled the acutest Judgments to make an absolute Determination: Some of the ablest Lawyers in the Kingdom have considered it, without being able to penetrate to the Bottom of it: It has been laid before his Majesty in Council, but even there it seems not to have been cleared up. At length, fifteen Months after the Fact, a Trial commenced against the Girl for *Wilful and Corrupt Perjury*, which began at the *Old Bailey* on *Monday* the 29th of *April*, 1754, and was not finished till *Tuesday* the 7th of *May*: But as this Trial was in Consequence of what had been said and done by her in Regard to the *Gypsy*, it will be necessary, for the better understanding of it, to take a Review of the whole Affair, which was the Method the Court proceeded on in the Course of this last Trial. We shall add to this Review of the several Circumstances, without any Partiality, such Reflections and Observations as the Writers on both Sides have made, whereby our Readers will be the better able to form some Judgment of this *very strange Affair*, and to understand the Evidence which appeared on the late Trial.

On the 6th of *January*, 1753, the following Advertisement appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, viz.

“ *Whereas*

“ Whereas Elizabeth Canning went from  
 “ her Friends between Hounsditch and Bi-  
 “ shopsgate, on Monday last, the 1st Instant,  
 “ between Nine and Ten o’Clock, Whoever can  
 “ give any Account where she is, shall have  
 “ Two Guineas Reward ; to be paid by Mrs.  
 “ Canning, a Sawyer, in Aldermanbury Pos-  
 “ tern, which will be a great Satisfaction to her  
 “ Mother. She is fresh-coloured, pitted with  
 “ the Small-Pox, has a high Forehead, light  
 “ Eye-brows, about five Feet high, eighteen  
 “ Years of Age, well sett, had on a Masque-  
 “ rade Purple Stuff Gown, a black Petticoat,  
 “ a white Chip Hat, bound round with Green,  
 “ a white Apron and Handkerchief, blue Stock-  
 “ ings, and Leather Shoes.

“ Note, It is supposed she was forcibly ta-  
 “ ken away by some evil-disposed Person, as  
 “ she was heard to shriek out in a Hackney  
 “ Coach in Bishopsgate-street. If the Coach-  
 “ man remembers any Thing of the Affair, by  
 “ giving an Account as above, he shall be hand-  
 “ somely rewarded for his Trouble.

Upon this Advertisement Dr. Hill, a Wri-  
 ter on the Side of the Gypsy, thus remarks :

“ Why supposed to be taken forcibly away?  
 “ Are these Transactions common ? or was  
 “ there any Thing in the present Case to autho-  
 “ rize such an Imagination ? To what Purpose  
 “ should she be forced away ! She is not hand-  
 “ some ; so that the Design could not be upon

“ her Person ; and certainly the Dress that is  
 “ described so largely, could not tempt any one  
 “ to carry her off to rob her ; nor was it ne-  
 “ cessary, for that might have been done where  
 “ she was seized ; nay, and in the latter Ac-  
 “ counts we are told it was done there.

“ Who heard her shriek ! or what is become  
 “ of the Hackney Coach Part of the Story ; no  
 “ Syllable has been since uttered of it. Who  
 “ should know the Voice of a Servant of no Con-  
 “ sideration, calling in a strange Part of the  
 “ Town from a Coach ? What must the Rus-  
 “ sians have been doing, who suffered her to  
 “ shriek ; or who that heard such a Voice, and  
 “ did, or that did not know the Person, would  
 “ not have stopped the Carriage ! How came  
 “ he, who heard so much, not to call Persons to  
 “ assist him ? There are enough in the Streets at  
 “ Ten o’Clock ; or, where’s the Coachman ? for  
 “ Coaches do not drive themselves, and certainly  
 “ he might be found to justify the Story.

“ If a Coach carried her, where therefore is  
 “ the Driver of it ? or, if she was dragged  
 “ along, how did the People, who were taking  
 “ all this Pains, and running all this Hazard,  
 “ to no Sort of Purpose, get her undiscovered  
 “ through the Turnpikes ?” And he supposes that  
 this was a Preparative for all that followed, and  
 inserted on Purpose to prepare the Publick to  
 receive her Story. But some of these Parti-  
 culars in the Advertisement were accounted for  
 on the late Trial.

However



However this was, *Elizabeth Canning*, the Mother, having a very good Character, and being well esteemed in the Neighbourhood where she has lived for many Years, and the Girl having always bore a good Reputation, and being no more than eighteen, the Neighbours interested themselves greatly in the poor Woman's Misfortune, and promised to contribute to a larger Reward for the Discovery of the Girl, which was accordingly advertised, and every other Method that could be thought of put in Practice, but without gaining the least Intelligence of what was become of the Girl. No Place was left unsearched by the afflicted Mother ; even Gaols and Hospitals were not omitted, lest peradventure some Mistake or Accident might have brought her Daughter into one or other of them ; but all in vain, and Week after Week rolled on in this miserable State of Suspence, without the least News of the Girl, till the 29th Day of *January*, when she returned to her Mother's House about Ten o'Clock at Night, in a most frightful and miserable Condition. The Account she gave of what had happened to her, was as follows :

She declared, That on *Monday* the 1st of *January* last she went to see her Uncle and Aunt, who are People of a very good Character, and who live at *Saltpetre Bank*, near *Rosemary-lane* ; that having continued with them till towards Nine in the Evening, her Uncle  
and

and Aunt, it being late, walked a great Part of the Way Home with her ; that soon after she parted with them, and came opposite to *Bethlehem-gate* in *Moorfields*, she was seized by two Men who, after robbing her of Half a Guinea in Gold, and three Shillings in Silver, of her Hat, Gown, and Apron, violently dragged her into a Gravel-walk that leads down to the Gate of *Bethlehem* Hospital ; about the Middle of which one of the Men, after threatening to do for her, gave her a violent Blow with his Fist on the right Temple, that threw her into a Fit, and entirely deprived her of her Senses. These Fits she says she hath been accustomed to ; that they were first occasioned by the Fall of a Cieling on her Head ; that they are apt to return upon her whenever she is frightened, and that they sometimes continue for six or seven Hours ; that when she came to herself, she perceived that two Men were hurrying her along in a large Road-way, and that in a little Time after she was recovered, she was able to walk alone ; however, they still continued to pull and drag her along ; that she was so intimidated by their Usage, that she durst not call out, nor even speak to them ; that in about half an Hour after the Recovery of her Senses they carried her into an House, where she saw in the Kitchen an old Gypsy Woman and two young Women ; that the old Gypsy Woman took hold of her by the Hand, and promised to give her fine Cloaths if she would go their Way ;

Way ; which Expression she understanding to mean the becoming a Prostitute, she utterly refused to comply with ; upon which the old Gypsy Woman took a Knife out of a Drawer and cut the Stays off this *Elizabeth Canning*, and took them away from her, at which Time one of the Men likewise took off her Cap, and then both the Men went away ; that soon after they were gone, and about an Hour after she had been in the House, the old Gypsy Woman forced her up an old Pair of Stairs, and push'd her into a back Room like a Hay-Loft, without any Furniture whatsoever in the same, and there lock'd her up, threatening that if she made the least Noise or Disturbance, the old Gypsy Woman would come up and cut her Throat, and then fastened the Door on the Out-side and went away. She says, that when it was Day-light, upon her looking round to see in what dismal Place she was confined, she discovered a large black Jug, with the Neck much broken, filled with Water, and several Pieces of Bread, amounting to about the Quantity of a Quartern Loaf, scattered on the Floor, where was likewise a small Parcel of Hay. In this Room she says she continued from that Time till about half an Hour after Four of the Clock in the Afternoon of *Monday* the 29th Day of the same Month of *January*, being in all twenty-seven Days and upwards, without any other Sustenance than the aforesaid Bread and Water, except one small minced

minced Pye which she had in her Pocket, which she was carrying Home as a Present to her little Brother. She likewise says, that she had some Part of this Provision remaining on the *Friday* before she made her Escape, which she did by breaking out at a Window of the Room or Loft in which she was confined, and whence having escaped, she got back to her Friends in *London* in about six Hours, in a most weak and miserable Condition, being almost starved to Death, and without ever once stopping at any House or Place by the Way. She likewise says, that during her whole Confinement no Person ever came near her to ask her any Question whatever, nor did she see any belonging to the House more than once, when one of the Women peeped through a Hole in the Door, and that she herself was afraid to call or speak to any one.

Mr. Justice *Fielding* has remarked upon this Account in the following Manner :

“ Such is the Narrative of *Elizabeth Canning*, and a very extraordinary Narrative it is, consisting of many strange Particulars, resembling rather a wild Dream than a real Fact. *First*, It doth not well appear with what Motive these Men carried this poor Girl such a Length of Way, or indeed that they had any Motive at all for so doing. *Secondly*, That they should be able to do it, is not very easy to believe ;



lieve ; I do not mean that it is not within the Strength of two Men to carry a little Girl (for so she is) ten Miles, but that they could do this without being met, opposed, or examined, by any Persons in the much frequented Roads near this Town, is extremely strange and surprising. *Thirdly*, The Gypsy Woman doth not seem to have had any sufficient Motive to her Proceedings. If her Design was to make a Prostitute, or a Gypsy, or both, of this poor Girl, she would, in all Probability, have applied to her during her Confinement, to try what Effect that Confinement had produced. If her Design was Murder, she had many easier and better Ways than by starving, or if she had chosen this Method of destroying the Girl, it seems impossible to account for the conveying to her that Bread and Water, which could serve for no Purpose but to lengthen out the Misery of a Wretch against whom the Gypsy Woman had, as appears, no Foundation whatever of Anger or Revenge, and might have increased the Danger of discovering the whole Villainy. *Fourthly*, That *Elizabeth Canning* herself should have survived this Usage, and all the Terrors it must have occasioned, and should have been kept alive with no other Sustenance than she declares she had, are Facts very astonishing, and almost incredible. *Fifthly*, That she should so well have husbanded her small Pittance as to retain some of it till within two Days of her Escape, is another very surprising



prising Circumstance. *Sixthly*, That she should undergo all this Hardship and Fasting without attempting sooner to make her Escape, or without perceiving the Possibility of making it in the Manner in which she at last says she did effect it, seems to be no less shocking to Reason and common Sense. *Lastly*, That at the Time when she dates this Escape, she should have Strength sufficient left, not only to break her Prison in the Manner she declares, but to walk eleven or twelve Miles to her own Home, is another Fact which may very well stagger our Belief, and is a proper Close to this strange, unaccountable, and scarce credible Story.

Thus have I set the several Particulars of this Narrative in as strong a Light against the Relater, and in one as disadvantageous to the Credibility of her Relation, as I think they can fairly be placed. Certain it is, that the Facts seem at first to amount to the very highest Degree of Improbability, but I think that they do not amount to an Impossibility; for as to those Objections which arise from the Want of a sufficient Motive in the Transactors of this cruel Scene, no great Stress I think can be laid on these. I might ask what possible Motive could induce two Russians, who were executed last Winter for Murder, after they had robbed a poor Wretch who made no Resistance, to return and batter his Skull with their Clubs, till they fractured it in almost  
twenty

twenty different Places. How many Cruelties, indeed, do we daily hear of, to which it seems not easy to assign any other Motive than Barbarity itself? In serious and sorrowful Truth, doth not History, as well as our own Experience, afford us too great Reason to suspect, that there is in some Minds a Sensation directly opposite to that of Benevolence, and which delights and feeds itself with Acts of Cruelty and Inhumanity? And if such a Passion can be allowed any Existence, where can we imagine it more likely to exist than among such People as these.

Besides, though to a humane and truly sensible Mind such Actions appear to want an adequate Motive, yet to Wretches very little removed, either in their Sensations or Understandings, from wild Beasts, here may possibly appear a very sufficient Motive to all that they did; such might be a Desire of increasing the Train of Gypsies, or of Whores in the Family of Mother *Wells*. One of these appears to have been the Design of the Gypsy Woman, from the Declaration of *Elizabeth Canning*; who, if she had said nothing more improbable, would certainly have been entitled to our Belief in this, though this Design seems afterwards not to have been pursued. In short, she might very possibly have left the Alternative, with some Indifference to the Girl's own Option; if she was starved out of her Virtue,

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the Family might easily apprehend she would give them Notice ; if out of her Life, it would be then Time enough to convey her dead Body to some Ditch or Dunghill, where, when it was found, it would tell no Tales : Possibly, however, the Indifference of the Gypsy Woman was not so absolute, but that she might prefer the Girl's *going her Way*, and this will account for her conveying to her that Bread and Water, which might give the poor Girl a longer Time to deliberate, and consequently the Love of Life might have a better Chance to prevail over the Love of Virtue.

So much for the first and third Objection arising from the Want of Motive, from which, as I observed above, no very powerful Arguments can be drawn in the Case of such Wretches : As to the second Objection, tho' I mentioned it as I would omit none, the Reader, I presume, will lay so little Weight upon it, that it would be wasting Time to give it much Answer. In Reality, the Darkeness of the Night at that Season of the Year, and when it was within two Days of the New Moon, with the Indifference of most People to what doth not concern themselves, and the Terror with which all honest Persons pass by Night through the Roads near this Town, will very sufficiently account for the Want of all Interruption to these Men in their Conveyance of the poor Girl.

With

With Regard to the fourth Objection, How she could survive this Usage, &c? I leave the Degree of Probability to be ascertained by the Physicians : Possible, I think it is, and I contend for no more. I shall only observe here, that she barely did survive it, and that she, who left her Mother in a plump Condition, return'd so like a Spectre, that her Mother fainted away when she saw her ; her Limbs were all emaciated, and the Colour of her Skin turned black, so as to resemble a State of Mortification ; her Recovery from which State since, is a Proof of that firm and sound Constitution, which supported her, if she says true, under all her Misery.

As to the fifth Objection, she answers, That the cruel Usage she had met with, and the Condition she saw herself in, so affected both her Mind and Body, that she eat scarce any Thing during the first Days of her Confinement, and afterwards had so little Appetite, that she could scarce swallow the hard Morsels which were allotted her.

The sixth Objection hath, in my Opinion, so little in it, that had I not heard it insisted on by others, I should not myself have advanced it : Common Experience every Day teacheth us, that we endure many Inconveniencies of Life, while we overlook those Ways of extricating ourselves ; which, when they are discovered,



vered, appear to have been, from the first, extremely easy and obvious. The Inference which may be drawn from this Observation, a moderate Degree of Candor will oblige us to extend very far in the Case of a poor simple Child, under all the Circumstances of Weakness of Body, and Depression and Confusion of Spirits, till Despair, which is a Quality that is ever encreasing as its Object encreases, grew to the highest Pitch, and forced her to an Attempt which she had not before had the Courage to undertake.

As to her accomplishing this, and being able to escape to her Friends, the Probability of this likewise I leave to the Discussion of Physicians: Possible it surely is, and I question very much, whether the Degree of Despair, which I have just mentioned, will not even make it probable; since this is known to add no less Strength to the Body than it doth to the Mind, a Truth which every Man almost may confirm by many Instances."

Dr. Hill, on the other Side, speaks of her Narrative in the following Manner :

" The pretty Innocent (such we should take her to be from the Story) tells us she was tempted strongly: She was promised *fine Cloaths*, if she would *go their Way*. This is the Account; and in the Name of Reason let us







*The back of the House, the Window through which she escaped.*



*The front of S. Well House, the Window through which she escaped.*

us consider it. The Phrase is an odd and unnatural one ; and the fine Cloaths were to be given, By whom ? By one who hardly had a Covering for herself, and in a Place where every Thing spoke Beggary : Unnatural, ridiculous, and absurd !

There can be no Cause assigned, why Men should drag her many Miles, or why Women lock her up to perish, without the least Advantage, or the least Prospect of Advantage. I wish it could be said there appears no End for which all this might be pretended, altho' there could be none for which it should be done.

Did the prophetic Spirit of her Virtue foresee exactly the Length of her Confinement ? How came she else to proportion, for it's plain she did proportion, her Eating to it ? There is, indeed, no Reason why she should not have foreseen it, since the Duration was at her own Pleasure. There appears no Cause why she did not make that Escape the first Night, which she effected on the last Day at Four in the Afternoon : And as it has been thought strange that no one opposed the Persons in the Night in carrying her thither, I shall add, that I think it still more strange no one was let into the Story on her Return. Her Weakness might have made her complain, her Terror speak, and even her Countenance must have occasioned Question. People could not be  
C wanting

wanting to this Purpose ; for she that could set out in the Afternoon to walk from *Enfield-Wash* to *London*, must be met, overtaken, or seen, by many hundred Persons : Her Figure was singular enough to have drawn the Attention of some of these, her Aspect (as you describe it) of them all : The Story has been enough spoken of to bring such People to attest it, had there been any such ; but if any have appeared, it has not come to my Knowledge. \*

Acts of Cruelty have been practised by Russians : I grant you so much, mighty Reasoner ! but there has been a Motive ; the worst of them have never done it otherwise : Their own Safety is the common Cause, and Cowards are to a Proverb cruel. But here Men endanger'd, and not secured, their Safety, by the doing it ; and had no End to answer when it was done. On the same Principle, before we can believe the Women (who have been condemned) would have run the Hazard of her Confinement, when they knew an Escape so practicable, we must expect to find some Motives to their doing it.

The Cant of the Subscription was her *Virtue*, but there must have been a Face to stamp the Price on that : Without it the Commodity's

\* Three or four such People appeared on the late Trial.



dity's not marketable : Naked Virtue is of no Value unto the Sort of People these have been represented. Besides, had there been even this Temptation, the Gypsy, who is charged with the Crime, could not have any Intent to answer in the obtaining of the Sacrifice. She did not keep the House ; and it could not be in Friendship to Mrs. *Wells*, for they were Strangers."

Thus fairly have we stated what has been said on both Sides, in Regard to the Account the Girl gave of her Confinement at Mother *Wells's*. Our Readers, upon Examination, will perceive on which Side there is most Force of Argument.

We now proceed to relate what followed the Girl's coming Home. Her Absence had made so much Noise, and appeared so unaccountable, that as soon as the News of her being returned was known, a great many People went to her Mother's House to see and talk with her ; but her weak Condition would not permit her to answer a great many Questions. In Answer to the general Enquiry, if she could not tell where she had been, she answered, that it was somewhere upon the *Hertford* Road, because she had seen the Coachman, who used to carry her Mistress to *Hertford*, go by, and that she had once heard the Name of *Wills* or *Wells* mentioned in the House : Upon this some of those



those who came to see her, said, It must certainly be Mother *Wells's* at *Enfield-Wash*, a House of very ill Fame. This appearing probable to her Friends, and the rest of the Company who were present, it was determined that the Girl, though in a most weak Condition, should go before the sitting Alderman, and make Affidavit of the Affair, in order to obtain a Warrant for the apprehending of Mother *Wells*. Accordingly, on the 31st of *January*, the Girl was carried before him, and her Deposition taken ; in which she declared, the Room she was confined in was a darkish little square Room, that she lay upon the Boards, that there was nothing in the Room except a Grate, with a Gown in it, and that there was a Picture over the Chimney.

This Account differing in some Circumstances from what she deposed afterwards, and from what the Room was found to be, (especially in Regard to the Dimensions, it being thirty Feet long, and only nine broad, and in Respect to her lying on the Boards, for she had said at first that there was Hay in the Room, and has deposed the same on Oath since,) has been strongly alledged against her, as a Proof of her whole Story being false : But on the other Side it is said, that as the Girl was extreamly faint and weak at the Time of this Examination, as there was a great Number of Persons present, so that even the Alderman himself  
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own'd on the late Trial, that he did not know how Mother *Wells's* Name came to be put down in the Warrant he signed for apprehending her, as being the Person who had cut *Canning's* Stays off, he not remembering that the Girl ever mentioned her Name; considering all these Circumstances, those Persons that espouse her Cause say, that the Difference which was in her Deposition at this Time, might probably arise from the Mistake of the Clerk, who took it amidst the Talk of so many Persons. A Warrant being granted by the Alderman, it was resolved that the Girl should be carried down in a Coach the next Day, and several of her Friends agreed to accompany her on Horseback; among which were Mr. *Lyon*, her Master, whom she lived with, Mr. *Wintlebury*, with whom she had lived before, Mr. *Nash*, Mr. *Hage*, Mr. *Aldrich*, Mr. *Adamson*, Mr. *Skerret*, Mrs. *Woodward*, and several others of her Neighbours and Acquaintance. When they came down, the Girl was first carried out of the Coach in a Man's Arms, into the Kitchen of Mother *Wells's* House, and set on the Dresser, where she seemed very faint and ill; upon which her Master *Lyon* bid her not be frightened, for she was among Friends, but at the same Time charged her to be sure not to swear any Thing rashly, but to be quite certain before she fixed upon any one. She was then carried into the Parlour, where Mother  
*Wells*

*Wells* the Gypfy, her Son and Daughter, *Virtue Hall*, and *Judith Natus*, were under the Care of an Officer, who had apprehended them early in the Morning. As soon as she was brought into the Room, the Girl pitched upon the Gypfy as the Person who had cut her Stays off, and said, that *Lucy Squires* and *Virtue Hall* stood by ; as to Mother *Wells*, she said that she did not know she had ever seen her before, and she could not say any Thing as to *George Squires* ; however, they were all put in a Cart together, and carried before Justice *Tybbmaker*. Before they came hither, *George Squires*, the Gypfy's Son, having got his Great Coat on, the Girl, as soon as she saw him before the Justice, said he then look'd much more like one of the Men who had robb'd her in *Moorfields*; however, she would not swear against him, so that the Justice discharged him and the rest, except the Gypfy and Mother *Wells*, one of whom he committed to Prison, as being sworn against by the Girl for robbing her of her Stays, and the other for keeping a disorderly House.

But before the Sessions came on that they were to take their Trial at, the Friends of *Canning* thought they should be able to go more to the Bottom of the Affair by apprehending *Virtue Hall*, who was a Servant in Mother *Wells*'s House ; they therefore applied to Justice *Fielding*, who, upon *Canning*'s making  
an

an Information upon Oath before him, granted a Warrant for apprehending *Virtue Hall*.

As some Disagreement of this Information of *Canning's*, sworn before Justice *Fielding*, with that made before the Alderman, and likewise with what she deposed on the Trial of the Gypsy, is one of the main Foundations of the Indictment brought against her for *Wilful and Corrupt Perjury*, it will be necessary to give it here at large, as it was read in Court upon the late Trial.

Middlesex    §    *The INFORMATION of Eliza-  
beth Canning, of Aldermanbury  
Postern, London, Spinster, taken  
upon Oath, this 17th Day of Fe-  
bruary, in the Year of our Lord  
1753, before Henry Fielding, Esq;  
one of his Majesty's Justices of the  
Peace for the County of Middlesex.*

**T**HIS Informant, upon her Oath, saith,  
That on *Monday*, the first Day of *Janu-  
ary* last past, she, this Informant, went to see  
her Uncle and Aunt, who live at *Saltpetre  
Bank*, near *Rosemary-Lane*, in the County of  
*Middlesex*, and continued with them until the  
Evening; and saith, That upon her Return  
Home, about half an Hour after Nine, being  
opposite *Bethlehem-gate* in *Moorfields*, she, this  
Informant, was seized by two Men, (whose  
Names



Names are unknown to her, this Informant,) who both had *brown Bob Wigs on, and Drab-coloured Great Coats* ; one of whom held her, this Informant, whilst the other, feloniously and violently, took from her one Shaving Hat, one Stuff Gown, and one Linnen Apron, which she had on ; and also, Half a Guinea in Gold, and Three Shillings in Silver ; and then he that held her, threatened to do for this Informant. And this Informant saith, That, immediately after, they, the same two Men, violently took hold of her, and dragged her up into the Gravel Walk that leads down to the said Gate, and about the Middle thereof, he, the said Man that first held her, gave her, with his Fist, a very violent Blow upon the Right Temple, which threw her into a Fit, and deprived her of her Senses ; which Fits, she, this Informant, saith she is accustomed and subject to, upon being frightened, and that they often continue for six or seven Hours. And this Informant saith, That when she came to herself, she perceived that she was carrying along by the same two Men, in a large Road-Way : And saith, That in a little Time after, she was so recovered, she was able to walk alone ; however, they continued to pull her along, which still so intimidated and frightened her, that she durst not call out for Assistance, or speak to them. And this Informant saith, That in about half an Hour after she had so recovered herself, they, the said two Men, carried



carry'd her, this Informant, into a House, (which as she, this Informant, heard from some of them, was about Four o'Clock in the Morning, and which House, as she, this Informant, has since heard and believes, is situate at *Enfield-Wash*, in the County of *Middlesex*, and is reputed to be a very bad and disorderly Bawdy-house, and occupied by one ----- *Wells*, Widow,) and there this Informant saw, in the Kitchen, an old Gypsy Woman, and two young Women, whose Names were unknown to this Informant; but the Name of one of them this Informant hath since heard, and believes is *Virtue Hall*; and saith, That the said old Gypsy Woman took hold of this Informant's Hand, and promised to give her fine Cloaths if she would go their Way, (meaning, as this Informant understood, to become a Prostitute,) which this Informant refusing to do, she, the said old Gypsy Woman, took a Knife out of a Drawer, and cut the Lace of the Stays of her, this Informant, and took the said Stays away from her; and one of the said Men took off her Cap, and then the said two Men went away with it, and she, this Informant, hath never since seen any of her Things. And this Informant saith, That soon after they were gone, (which she, this Informant, believes was about Five in the Morning,) she, the said old Gypsy Woman, forced her, this Informant, up an old Pair of Stairs, and pushed her into a back Room like a Hay-Loft, without any Furni-

ture whatsoever in the same, and there locked her, this Informant, up, threatening her, this Informant, that if she made the least Noise or Disturbance, she, the said old Gypsy Woman, would cut her Throat, and then she went away. And this Informant saith, That when it grew light, upon her looking round to see in what a dismal Place she was, she, this Informant, discovered a large black Jug, with the Neck much broken, wherein was some Water ; and, upon the Floor, several Pieces of Bread, near in Quantity to a Quartern Loaf, and a small Parcel of Hay : And saith, That she continued in this Room, or Place, from the said *Tuesday* Morning, the second Day of *January*, until about half an Hour after Four of the Clock in the Afternoon of *Monday* the twenty-ninth Day of the same Month of *January*, without having, or receiving, any other Sustenance, or Provision, than the said Bread and Water, (except a small minced Pye, which she, this Informant, had in her Pocket,) or any Thing to lie on, other than the said Hay ; and without any Person, or Persons, coming to her, although she often heard the Name of Mrs. and Mother *Wells* called upon, whom she understood was the Mistress of the House. And this Informant saith, That on *Friday*, the twenty-sixth Day of *January* last past, she, this Informant, had consumed all the aforesaid Bread and Water, and continued without having any Thing to eat, or drink, until the  
*Monday*

*Monday* following, when she, this Informant, being almost famish'd with Hunger, and starv'd with Cold, and almost naked during the whole Time of her Confinement, about half an Hour after Four in the Afternoon of the said twenty-ninth Day of *January*, broke out at a Window of the said Room, or Place, and got to her Friends in *London*, about a Quarter after Ten the same Night, in a most weak, miserable Condition, being very near starved to Death. And this Informant saith, That she ever since hath been, and now is, in a very weak and declining State and Condition of Health, and although all possible Care and Assistance is given to her, yet whatever small Nutriment she, this Informant, is able to take, the same receives no Passage through her, but what is forced by the Apothecary's Assistance and Medicines.

*Sworn before me,  
this 7th Day of Feb.  
1753.*

*The Mark of  
E C  
Elizabeth Canning.*

H. FIELDING.

Upon this Information of *Elizabeth Canning*, the Justice granted his Warrant for apprehending *Virtue Hall*, &c. who was accordingly brought before him; and, after a long Examination, made the following Confession, which she swore to, and signed.

Middlesex    §    *The INFORMATION of Virtue*  
                   §    *Hall, late of the Parish of En-*  
                           *field, in the County of Middlesex,*  
                           *Spinster, taken upon Oath the 13th*  
                           *Day of February, 1753, before me,*  
                           *Henry Fielding, Esq; one of his*  
                           *Majesty's Justices of the Peace for*  
                           *the County of Middlesex.*

**T**HIS Informant upon her Oath saith,  
 That on *Tuesday* the second Day of *January* last past, about Four of the Clock in the Morning, a young Woman, whose Name this Informant hath since heard is *Elizabeth Canning*, was brought (without any Gown, Hat, or Apron on,) to the House of one *Susannah Wells*, of *Enfield-Wash*, in the County afore-said, Widow, by two Men, the Name of one of whom is *John Squires*, the reputed Son of one *Mary Squires*, an old Gypsy Woman, who then, and some little Time before, had lodged at the House of the said *Susannah Wells*, but the Name of the other of the said two Men this Informant knows not, she this Informant never having seen him before or since to the best of her Knowledge. And this Informant saith, That when she the said *Elizabeth Canning* was brought into the Kitchen of the said *Wells's* House, there were present the said *Mary Squires*, *John Squires*, the Man unknown, *Katharine Squires*, the reputed Daughter of the said *Mary Squires*, and this Informant; and this Informant



Informant does not recollect that any one else was in the said Kitchen at that Time : And saith, That immediately upon her the said *Elizabeth Canning's* being brought in, the said *John Squires* said, “ *Here Mother, take th's Girl,*” or used Words to that Effect ; and she the said *Mary Squires* asked him where they had brought her from ; and *John* said from *Moorfields*, and told his said Mother that they had taken her Gown, Apron, Hat, and Half a Guinea from her, to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief : Whereupon she the said *Mary Squires* took hold of the said *Elizabeth Canning's* Hand, and asked her if she would go their Way, or Words to that Effect ; and upon the said *Elizabeth Canning's* answering No, she the said *Mary Squires* took a Knife out of the Drawer of the Dresser in the Kitchen, and therewith cut the Lace of the said *Elizabeth Canning's* Stays, and took the said Stays away from her, and hung them on the Back of a Chair, and the said Man unknown took the Cap off the said *Elizabeth Canning's* Head, and then he, with the said *John Squires*, went out of Doors with it. And this Informant saith, That quickly after they were gone, she the said *Mary Squires* pushed the said *Elizabeth Canning* along the Kitchen, towards and up a Pair of Stairs leading into a large back Room, like a Hay-Loft, called the Work-Shop, where there was some Hay ; and whilst she the said *Mary Squires* was so pushing



her the said *Elizabeth Canning* towards the Stairs, she the said *Susannah Wells* came into the Kitchen, and asked the said *Mary Squires* what she was going to push the Girl up Stairs for, or Words to that Effect, and to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief, the said *Mary Squires* answered, "*What is that to you? You have no Business with it.*" Whereupon the said *Susannah Wells* directly went out of the Kitchen into an opposite Room, called the Parlour, from whence she came, as this Informant believes. And this Informant saith, That the said *Mary Squires* forced the said *Elizabeth Canning* up Stairs into the said Work-Shop, and buttoned the Door at the Bottom of the Stairs in the Kitchen upon her, and confined her there. And this Informant saith, That about two Hours after, a Quantity of Water, in an old broken-mouth'd large black Jug, was carried up the said Stairs, and put down upon the Floor of the said Work-Shop, at the Top of the Stairs, to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief. And this Informant saith, That soon after the said *Elizabeth Canning* was so put into the said Work-Shop, and the said *Susannah Wells* was returned into the Parlour, the said *John Squires* returned again into the Kitchen, and took the Stays from off the Chair, and went away with the same, and in about an Hour's Time returned, and went into the Parlour with the said *Susannah Wells*. He the said *John Squires*  
came

came again into the Kitchen, and then this Informant went into the Parlour to the said *Susannah Wells*, and the said *Susannah Wells* there said to this Informant, “ *Virtue, the Gypsy Man (meaning the said John Squires) has been telling me that his Mother had cut the Girl’s (meaning the said Elizabeth Canning’s) Stays off her Back, and that he has got them ;*” and further said, “ *I desire you will not make a Clack of it, for Fear it should be blown,*” or used Words to that or the like Effect. And this Informant saith, That from the Time of the said *Elizabeth Canning*’s being so confined in the Morning of the said second Day of *January*, in Manner as aforesaid, she the said *Elizabeth Canning* was not missed, or discovered to have escaped out of the said Work-Shop until *Wednesday* the 31<sup>st</sup> Day of the same Month of *January*, as she this Informant verily believes ; for that, to the best of this Informant’s Recollection and Belief, she was the Person that first missed the said *Elizabeth Canning* thereout. And this Informant saith, That the said *Susannah Wells* harboured and continued the said *Mary Squires* in her aforesaid House, from the Time of the said *Mary Squires*’s robbing the said *Elizabeth Canning* of her Stays, until *Thursday* the first Day of *February* last past, when the said *Susannah Wells*, *Sarah* her Daughter, *Mary Squires*, *John Squires*, his two Sisters *Katharine* and *Mary Squires*, *Fortune Natus*, and *Sarah* his

his Wife, and this Informant, were apprehended on Account thereof, and carried before Justice *Tythemaker*. And this Informant saith, That *Fortune Natus*, and *Sarah* his Wife, to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief, have lodged in the House of the said *Susannah Wells* about eleven Weeks next before Monday the fifth Day of *February* Instant, and layed on a Bed of Hay spread in the Kitchen at Night, which was in the Day-time pushed up in a Corner thereof, and continued lying there, when at Home, until *Thursday* the said first Day of *February*; when before the said Mr. *Tythemaker*, all, except the said *Susannah Wells* and *Mary Squires*, were discharged, and then that Evening the said *Fortune Natus* and *Sarah* his Wife, laid up in the said Work-Shop where the said *Elizabeth Canning* had been confined; so that, as this Informant understood, it might be pretended that they had lain in the said Work-Shop for all the Time they had lodged in the said *Susannah Wells*'s House: And saith, That on the Day on which it was discovered that the said *Elizabeth Canning* had made her Escape out of the said Work-Shop, by breaking down some Boards slightly affixed a-cross the Window-place, the said *Sarah*, Daughter of the said *Susannah Wells*, nailed up the said Window-place again with Boards, so that the said Window-place might not appear to have been broke open. And lastly, this Informant saith, That she, this Informant, hath lived with

with the said *Susannah Wells* about a Quarter of a Year last past, and well knows that the said *Susannah Wells*, during that Time, hath kept a very notorious ill governed and disorderly House, and has had the Character of doing so for many Years past ; and that the said *Susannah Wells* well knew and was privy to the Confinement of the said *Elizabeth Canning*.

Sworn before me,  
this 14th Day of  
February, 1753.

her  
*Virtue* × *Hall*.  
Mark.

H. FIELDING.

Mr. *Fielding*, speaking of the Information of *Virtue Hall*, tells all that passed previous to it in these Words :

“ *Virtue Hall* was in my House above an  
“ Hour or more before I was at Leisure to see  
“ her ; during which Time, and before I  
“ had ever seen *Virtue Hall*, I was informed,  
“ that she would confess the whole Matter.  
“ When she came before me, she appeared in  
“ Tears, and seemed all over in a trembling  
“ Condition ; upon which I endeavoured to  
“ soothe and comfort her : The Words I first  
“ spoke to her, as well as I can remember,  
“ were these ; *Child, you need not be under this*  
“ *Fear and Apprehension ; if you will tell us*  
“ *the whole Truth of this Affair, I give you*  
“ my



“ my *Word and Honour*, as far as it is in my  
 “ *Power*, to protect you ; you shall come to no  
 “ *Manner of Harm*. She answered, that she  
 “ would tell the whole Truth, but desired to  
 “ have some Time given her to recover from  
 “ her Fright ; upon this, I ordered a Chair  
 “ to be brought her, and desired her to sit  
 “ down, and then after some Minutes began to  
 “ examine her ; which I continued doing, in  
 “ the softest Language and kindest Manner I  
 “ was able, for a considerable Time, till she  
 “ had been guilty of so many Prevarications  
 “ and Contradictions, that I told her I would  
 “ examine her no longer, but would commit  
 “ her to Prison, and leave her to stand or fall  
 “ by the Evidence against her, and at the same  
 “ Time advised Mr. *Salt* to prosecute her as a  
 “ Felon, together with the Gypsy Woman :  
 “ Upon this, she begged I would hear her once  
 “ more, and said that she would tell the whole  
 “ Truth, and accounted for her Unwilling-  
 “ ness to do it, from the Fears of the Gypsy  
 “ Woman and *Wells*. I then asked her a few  
 “ Questions, which she answered with more  
 “ Appearance of Truth than she had done  
 “ before ; after which, I recommended to Mr.  
 “ *Salt*, to go with her and take her Informa-  
 “ tion in Writing ; and at her parting from  
 “ me, I bid her be a good Girl, and be sure to  
 “ say neither more nor less than the whole  
 “ Truth. During this whole Time, there  
 “ were no less than ten or a dozen Persons of  
 “ Credit

“ Credit present, who will, I suppose, testify  
 “ the Truth of this whole Transaction, as it  
 “ is here related. *Virtue Hall* then went from  
 “ me, and returned in about two Hours, when  
 “ the before-mentioned Information, which  
 “ was, as she said, taken from her Mouth,  
 “ was read over to her, and signed with her  
 “ Mark.”

The next Day an Advertisement appeared in  
 the News Papers, offering a Reward of ten  
 Pounds for taking of *John Squires*, the Gyp-  
 sy's Son, and ten Pounds for taking his Ac-  
 complice. Nothing very material happened  
 in the Affair after this, (except that the Gypsy  
 engaged an Attorney to undertake her Cause,  
 and subpoena several Witnesses in her Behalf)  
 till the Sessions at the *Old Bailey*, which began  
 on *Wednesday* the 21<sup>st</sup> of *February*, 1753,  
 where the Gypsy and Mother *Wells* were in-  
 dicted. What passed there, according to the  
 Sessions Paper, was as follows, the Substance of  
 which was read in Court at the late Trial :

“ *Mary Squires*, Widow, and *Susannah Wells*,  
 were indicted ; the first for that she,  
 on the second Day of *January*, in the Dwel-  
 ling-House of *Susannah Wells*, Widow, on  
*Elizabeth Canning*, Spinster, did make an Af-  
 fault, putting her, the said *Elizabeth Canning*,  
 in corporal Fear and Danger of her Life, one  
 Pair of Stays, Value 10 s. the Property of the  
 said

said *Elizabeth*, from her Person in the Dwelling-House did steal, take, and carry away.

And the latter for that she, well knowing that she, the said *Mary Squires*, to have done and committed the said Felony aforesaid on the second of *January*, her the said *Mary* did then and there feloniously receive, harbour, comfort, conceal, and maintain, against his Majesty's Peace, and against the Form of the Statute.

*Elizabeth Canning*. I had been to *Saltpetre Bank* to see an Uncle and Aunt; his Name is *Thomas Colley*: I set out from Home about Two in the Afternoon, and staid there till about Nine at Night on the first of *January*: Then my Uncle and Aunt came with me as far as *Aldgate*, where we parted; I was then alone, so came down *Hounsditch* and over *Moorfields* by *Bedlam Wall*; there two lusty Men, both in Great Coats, laid hold of me, one on each Side; they said nothing to me at first, but took Half a Guinea in a little Box out of my Pocket, and three Shillings that were loose.

Q. Which Man took that?

*E. Canning*. The Man on my Right Hand. They took my Gown, Apron, and Hat, and folded them up and put them into a Great Coat Pocket. I screamed out; then the Man that took my Gown put a Handkerchief, or some such Thing, to my Mouth.

Q. Were there any Persons walking near you at that Time?

*E. Canning*.

*E. Canning.* I saw no Body. They then tied my Hands behind me ; after which one of them gave me a Blow on the Temple, and said, *D-----n you, you B-----b, we'll do for you by and by.* I having been subject to Convulsion Fits these four Years, this Blow stunned me, and threw me directly into a Fit.

Q. Are these Fits attended with a Struggling ?

*E. Canning.* I don't know that.

Q. What happened afterwards ?

*E. Canning.* The first Thing that I remember after this was, I found myself by a large Road, where was Water, with the two Men that robbed me.

Q. Had you any Discourse with them ?

*E. Canning.* I had none ; they took me to the Prisoner *Wells's* House.

Q. About what Time do you think it might be ?

*E. Canning.* As near as I can think, it was about Four o'Clock in the Morning ; I had recovered from my Fit about half an Hour before I came to the House. They lugged me along, and said, *You B-----b, why don't you walk faster ?* One had hold of my Right Arm, and the other on the Left, and so pulled me along.

Q. Can you form any Judgment in what Manner you was conveyed to the Place before you recovered of your Fit ?

*E. Canning.*



*E. Canning.* I think they dragged me along by my Petticoats, they being so dirty.

Q. When you came to *Wells's* House, was it Day-light ?

*E. Canning.* No, it was not ; I think it was Day-light in about three Hours, or better, after I was there, which is the Reason I believe I was carried in about Four o'Clock.

Q. When you was carried in, what did you see there ?

*E. Canning.* I saw the Gypsy Woman *Squires*, who was sitting in a Chair, and two young Women in the same Room ; *Virtue Hall*, the Evidence, was one ; they were standing against a Dresser.

Q. Did you see the Prisoner *Wells* there ?

*E. Canning.* No, I did not. As soon as I was brought in, *Mary Squires* took me by the Hand, and asked me if I chose to go their Way, saying, if I did, I should have fine Cloaths ; I said, No.

Q. Did she explain to you what she meant by going their Way ?

*E. Canning.* No, Sir. Then she went and took a Knife out of a Dresser Drawer, and cut the Lace off my Stays, and took them from me.

Q. Had you, at that Time, any Apprehensions of Danger ?

*E. Canning.* I thought she was going to cut my Throat, when I saw her take the Knife.

Q. Did

Q. Did you see the Prisoner *Wells* at that Time ?

*E. Canning.* No, I did not.

Q. Was any Thing else taken from you ?

*E. Canning.* There was not then, but *Squires* looked at my Petticoat, and said, *Here, you B---b, you may keep that, or, I'll give you that, it is not worth much;* and gave me a Slap on the Face.

Q. Had she the Petticoat in her Hand ?

*E. Canning.* No, it was on me. After that, she pushed me up Stairs from out of the Kitchen, where we were.

Q. Describe the Kitchen.

*E. Canning.* The Kitchen was at the Right Hand going in at the Door, and the Stairs are near the Fire.

Q. How many Steps to them ?

*E. Canning.* There are four or five of them.

Q. What did they call the Name of the Place where they put you in ?

*E. Canning.* They call it the Hay-Loft. The Room Door was shut as soon as I was put in.

Q. Was it fastened ?

*E. Canning.* I don't know that ; it was at the Bottom of the Stairs in the Kitchen. After she shut the Door, she said, if ever she heard me stir or move, or any such Thing, she'd cut my Throat.

Q. Did you see any Thing brought up to eat or drink ?

*E. Canning.*

*E. Canning.* I saw nothing brought up. When Day-light appear'd, I could see about the Room; there was a Fire-place and a Grate in it, no Bed nor Bedstead, nothing but Hay to lie upon; there was a black Pitcher, not quite full of Water, and about twenty-four Pieces of Bread, (*a Pitcher produc'd in Court*) this is the Pitcher, which was full to near the Neck.

Q. How much in Quantity do you think these twenty-four Pieces of Bread might be?

*E. Canning.* I believe about a Quartern Loaf.

Q. Had you nothing else to subsist on?

*E. Canning.* I had in my Pocket a Penny Mince Pye, which I bought that Day to carry Home to my Brother.

Q. How long did you continue in that Room?

*E. Canning.* A Month by the Weeks, all but a few Hours.

Q. What do you mean by a Month by the Weeks?

*E. Canning.* I mean a four Weeks Month.

Q. Did any Body come to you in the Room during that Time?

*E. Canning.* No, Sir, no Body at all. On the *Wednesday* before I came away, I saw some Body look through the Crack of the Door, but don't know who it was.

Q. Did you, during the Time you was in this

this Confinement, make any Attempts to come down Stairs, or make your Escape ?

*E. Canning.* No, Sir, I did not till the Time I got out.

Q. Had you any Thing to subsist on during the Time, besides the Pieces of Bread, Penny Pye, and Pitcher of Water ?

*E. Canning.* No, I had not.

Q. At what Time did you get out ?

*E. Canning.* I got out about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon on a *Monday*, after I had been confined there four Weeks, all but a few Hours.

Q. How did you get out ?

*E. Canning.* I broke down a Board that was nailed up at the Inside of a Window, and got out there.

Q. How high was the Window from the Ground ?

*E. Canning.* (She described it by the Height of a Place in the Sessions-House, which was about eight or ten Feet high.) First I got my Head out, and kept fast hold by the Wall and got my Body out ; after that I turned myself round and jumped into a little narrow Place by a Lane with a Field behind it.

Q. Did not the Jump hurt you ?

*E. Canning.* No, it was soft Clay Ground.

Q. Was it light then ?

*E. Canning.* It was.

Q. What did you do for Cloathing ?

*E. Canning.* I took an old Sort of a Bed Gown and a Handkerchief that were in this

E

Hay-Loft,



Hay-Loft, and lay in a Grate in the Chimney. (*Produc'd in Court.*) I made my Ear bleed at getting out ; the Handkerchief I tied over my Head instead of a Cap, it was very bloody.

Q. Did you fee any Body when you jumped out at the Window ?

E. Canning. No, no Body at all ; then I went on the Backside the House up a Lane, and croffed a little Brook, and over two Fields, as I think, but I did not take Notice how many Fields ; the Path-Way brought me by the Road-side. Then I went by the Road strait to *London*.

Q. Did you know the Way ?

E. Canning. I did not.

Q. Did you call at any House ?

E. C. No, I did not. It struck Ten o'Clock just as I came over *Moorfields*. I got Home about a Quarter after to my Mother's House in *Aldermanbury*.

Q. Did you acquaint any Body with your Misfortune coming along ?

E. Canning. No, I did not.

Q. Who did you meet with first ?

E. Canning. I met with the Apprentice first ; then I saw my Mother and the Children. She went into a Fit directly.

Q. Did you give an Account to any Body how you had been treated ?

E. Canning. Yes, I did to Mrs. *Woodward*, who came to see me, that I had lived on Bread and Water. She was so affrighted, she could

not

not ask me many Questions then : Then Mr. *Wintlebury* came in, with whom I lived Servant before I went to live with Mr. *Lyon* ; he took me by my Hand, and asked me where I had been ; I said, *Sir, in the Hertfordshire Road* ; he said, *BET, How do you know that ?* I said, *Because I saw my Mistress's Coachman go by, which she used to go in into the Country into Hertfordshire, (that was Mrs. Wintlebury,) I knew the Coach, because I used to carry Things to it, and fetch them back again.*

Q. Was you asked any Questions about the Room or Jug that Night, and what you had to subsist on ?

*E. Canning.* Yes, there were many People came in, and I told them I had a Jug which was not quite full of Water ; they asked me how much, and I said I believe better than a Gallon of it ; they asked me also how I got out, and I said I broke out of the Window, and had torn my Ear in getting out, which bled all the Way coming Home.

Q. What Things did you observe in this Hay-Loft ?

*E. Canning.* There was a Barrel, a Saddle, a Bafon, and a Tobacco Mould.

Q. What do you mean by a Tobacco Mould ?

*E. Canning.* I mean such a Thing that they do up Pennyworths of Tobacco with.

*Cross-Examination.*

*Cross - Examination.*

Q. How long might these two Men continue with you in *Moorfields* ?

E. Canning. About half an Hour.

Q. Did any Body pass by at the Time ?

E. Canning. No Body at all.

Q. Was this Box, that contained your Half Guinea, taken out of your Pocket ?

E. Canning. Yes, Sir, it was.

Q. Had you any Thing else in your Pocket ?

E. Canning. I had a Pocket Handkerchief with a Pye in it, which I did not lose.

Q. Was there any Light near this Place where you was first attacked ?

E. Canning. There was a Lamp.

Q. Have you recollected how long you lay in this Fit before you came to yourself ?

E. Canning. I cannot be sure, but it was about half an Hour before I arrived in *Wells's* House.

Q. During the Time of your first being attacked, whether you had any Degree of Sense at all ?

E. Canning. Not till half an Hour before I came to that House.

Q. Had you Sense enough of any Sort to know by what Means you was conducted ?

E. Canning. I think they dragged me along by my Petticoats, they were made so dirty, but I was not sensible.

Q. Was

Q. Was you in any Surprize when she took your Stays ?

E. Canning. I was in a great Surprize, and all of a Tremble.

Q. Then how can you tell who was there at the Time ?

E. Canning. The Terror made me look about me to see what Company was there.

Q. How long did the two Men stay in the Room ?

E. Canning. They staid no longer than till they saw my Stays cut off, then they went away, before I was put up in the Loft.

Q. Did not you make an Attempt to get out before that *Monday* you talk of ?

E. Canning. I did not.

Q. How came you not to make an Attempt before ?

E. Canning. Because I thought they might let me out ; it never came into my Head till that Morning.

Q. Where was you sitting when you saw some Body peep through the Crack of the Door ?

E. Canning. I was walking along the Room.

Q. How wide was this Crack ?

E. Canning. It was about a quarter of an Inch wide.

Q. Did not you, in the whole twenty-seven Days, perceive where you was ?

E. Canning. I did in about a Week after, by seeing the Coach go by.

Q. Was



Q. Was not you extream weak ?

E. Canning. I was pretty weak.

Q. Was you ever that Way before ?

E. Canning. No, I never was.

Q. Did not you pass many Houses in your Way Home ?

E. Canning. I did, and asked my Way of People on the Road.

Q. How came you, being in that deplorable Condition, not to go into some House and relate the Hardships you had gone through ?

E. Canning. I thought, if I did, may be I might meet some Body belonging to that House.

Q. Did you see the Prisoner *Wells* while you was in that Confinement ?

E. Canning. I never saw her in the House at all till I went down afterwards.

Q. Had you any of your Fits while in that Room ?

E. Canning. I had not, but was fainting and sick.

*Squires*. I never saw that Witness in my Life-time, till this Day three Weeks.

Q. How was the Prisoner *Squires* dressed when you was carried in ?

E. Canning. She was sitting in her Gown with a Handkerchief about her Head.

Q. Did you never, during all the Time, try if the Door was fastened or not ?

E. Canning. I did once push against it with my Hand, and found it fast.

Q. Had

Q. Had you used to hear any Body in the Kitchen ?

E. Canning. I heard People sometimes blowing the Fire, and passing in and out. There was another Room in which I heard a Noise at Nights, but the House was very quiet in the Day-time.

Q. Did you eat all your Bread ?

E. Canning. I eat it all on the *Friday* before I got out ; it was quite hard, and I used to soak it in the Water.

Q. When did you drink all your Water ?

E. Canning. I drank all that about half an Hour before I got out of the Room.

(Upon being asked where she did her Occasions while in the Room, she answered, she never had had any Stool while in Confinement, she had only made Water.)

Virtue Hall. I know the two Prisoners at the Bar ; *Wells* lived at *Enfield-Wash* ; I went and lived there as a Lodger. *Mary Squires* lived in the House, and had been there about seven or eight Weeks.

Q. How long before E. Canning was brought in ?

V. Hall. About a Fortnight before, which was on the second of *January*, about Four in the Morning ; she was brought in there by two Men ; *John Squires* was one of them, he is Son to *Mary Squires*, the other Man I don't know any Thing of, I never saw him before.

Q. How

Q. How was she dressed when brought in ?

V. Hall. She had no Gown on, or Hat or Apron.

Q. Who was in the House at the Time ?

V. Hall. There was I and *Mary Squires*, the Prisoner and her Daughter ; the Gypsy Man said, *Mother, I have brought you a Girl, do you take her* ; then she asked *E. Canning* whether she would go her Way.

Q. What did she mean by that ?

V. Hall. She meant for her to turn Whore, but she would not.

Q. Do you mention this by Way of Explanation, or as Words as she said ?

V. Hall. As Words as she said : Then *Mary Squires* took a Knife out of a Dresser Drawer in the Kitchen, and ripped the Lace off her Stays, and pulled them off, and hung them on the Back of a Chair in the Kitchen, and push'd her up into the Room, and said, *D----n you, go up there then, if you please* ; then the Man that came in with the Gypsy's Son, took the Cap off *Elizabeth Canning's* Head, and went out of Doors with it ; the Gypsy Man, *John Squires*, took the Stays off the Chair, and went out with them.

Q. Where was *Elizabeth Canning*, when the two Men took away the Things ?

V. Hall. She was then up in the Room.

Q. Had you ever been in that Room ?

V. Hall. I had, before she was brought there, several Times.

Q. What

Q. What was the Name they called it by ?

V. Hall. They called it by the Name of the Work-Shop ; there was a great deal of Hay in it ; they only put Lumber in it ; there was a great many Pieces of Wood, a Tobacco Mould, and this black Jug : About three Hours after the young Woman was put up, *Mary Squires* filled the Jug with Water, and carried it up.

Q. How do you know it was three Hours after ?

V. Hall. Then it began to be lightish.

Q. Did you hear any Talk between them after she was in the Room ?

V. Hall. They took Care I should know but little.

Q. Has *Susannah Wells* a Husband ?

V. Hall. No, she has not ; when I went out of the Kitchen, I went into the Parlour ; *Wells* said, VIRTUE HALL, *the Gypsy Man came in and told me that his Mother had cut the Stays off the young Woman's Back, and he had got them ; and she bid me not to say any Thing to make a Clack of it, fearing it should be known.*

Q. How long was you in that House ?

V. Hall. I was there a quarter of a Year in all, if not more ; I was there the whole Time *Elizabeth Canning* was there, but I never saw her once after she was put up into that Room ; I was the first that missed her ; I asked the Gypsy Woman once, whether that Girl was gone ; she answered, *What is that to you, you*  
F have



*have no Business with it ; but I durst not go to see if she was gone ; if I had, very likely they would have served me so.*

*Q.* Did you ever see the other Man after that Night ?

*V. Hall.* No, I never did.

*Q.* Who lodged in the House at the Time besides ?

*V. Hall.* There was *Fortunatus* did.

*Q.* Did *Mary Squires* continue in the House long after this ?

*V. Hall.* She did, till we were all taken up, which was, I think, on the *Thursday* after the young Woman was gone.

*Q.* What was you in that House ?

*V. Hall.* I went there as a Lodger, but I was forced to do as they would have me.

*Q.* from *Mary Squires*. What Day was it that the young Woman was robbed ?

*Court.* She says on the Morning of the second of *January*.

*Q.* *Squires*. I return Thanks for telling me, for I am as innocent as the Child unborn.

*Q.* from *Wells*. How long were these People (meaning the Gypsies) at my House in all, from first to last ?

*V. Hall.* They were there six or seven Weeks in all ; they had been there about a Fortnight before the young Woman was brought in.

*Q.* Did you ever see this Cap or Bed-Gown before ?

*V. Hall.*

*V. Hall.* Not to my Knowledge.

*Thomas Colley.* I am *E. Canning's* Uncle ; I live at *Saltpetre-Bank* : On the New-Year's Day she dined and supped at my House, and went away about Nine in the Evening, as near as I can guess ; I and my Wife went along with her to *Hounsditch*, almost to the *Blue-Ball*, there we parted with her, about a quarter or very near half an Hour after Nine o'Clock.

Q. How was she cloathed ?

*Colley.* She had a Gown, Hat, and white Apron on.

ELIZABETH CANNING. *Elizabeth Canning*, that has given her Evidence, is my Daughter ; after she was missing from New-Year's Day, I advertised her three Times ; she came back on the Day before King *Charles's* Martyrdom, about a quarter after Ten o'Clock at Night ; she had nothing but this ragged Bed-Gown and a Cap ; I fell into a Fit directly ; my Daughter is subject to Fits ; there was a Garret Cieling fell in upon her Head, which first occasioned them ; and at Times, when any Body speaks hastily to her, or on any Surprize, she is very liable to fall in one ; she has sometimes continued in one seven or eight Hours, sometimes three or four ; she is not sensible during the Time she is in one, no more than a new born Babe : When I came to myself, my Daughter was talking to Mrs. *Woodward* and Mr. *Wintlebury* ; they asked her where she had been, she said on the *Hertfordshire* Road, which

she knew by seeing a Coach going by ; she gave the same Account she has here. When she came into her warm Bed, she was very sick, and had no free Passage through her for Stool or Urine, till she was supplied with Glysters for seven Days after she came Home, but what was forced by half a Cup full at a Time.

*John Wintlebury.* I saw *Elizabeth Canning* the Night she came Home ; she appeared in a very bad Condition, and had this dirty Bed-Gown and Cap on. Hearing she was come Home, I went to her Mother's House, and said, *BET, How do you do ?* She said, *I am very bad.* Said I, *Where have you been ?* She said she had been somewhere on the *Hertfordshire* Road, because she had seen the *Hertfordshire* Coach go backwards and forwards.

Q. Have you heard the Evidence she has given here in Court ?

*Wintlebury.* I have ; she gave the same Account that Night, but not quite so fully that Night as she did before the sitting Alderman, on the *Wednesday* after, but all agrees with what she has said here ; I found her in a great Flurry, so did not ask her many Questions that Night.

*Joseph Adamson.* I have known *Elizabeth Canning* the younger some Years ; I never saw her after she came Home, till the Day we went down to take the People up ; I and several Neighbours of us agreed to go to the Place, some on Horseback and some in the Coach with

with *E. Canning* ; I was down about an Hour, or an Hour and half, before the Coach came, and had secured all the People we found there ; I seeing the Room before she was brought in, thought she was capable of giving some Account of it ; I returned to meet her, and ask'd her about it ; she described the Room with some Hay in it, a Chimney-place in the Corner of it, an odd Sort of an empty Room ; I went with her to the House, and carried her out of the Chaise into the Kitchen, and set her on the Dresser, and ordered all the People to be brought to her, to see if she knew any of them ; she was then very weak ; I took her in my Arms like a Child : Upon seeing *Mary Squires*, she said, *That is the Woman that cut my Stays off, and threatened to cut my Throat if I made a Noise.*

Q. Did any of the People seem unwilling to be inspected ?

*Adamson.* Yes, they were very unwilling to be stopped, when we went down in the Morning, particularly *Mary Squires* : After the Girl had said this of *Squires*, *Squires* said to her, she hoped she would not swear her Life away, for she never saw her before : *E. Canning* pointed to *Virtue Hall*, and said, *That young Woman was in the Kitchen when I was brought in* ; she pointed also to another young Woman, and said, *She was there at the Time.* Then we carried her up to examine the House ; she said, none of the Rooms she had seen, was the Room



in which she was confined : Then I asked if there were any other Rooms ; they said, *Yes, out of the Kitchen*, (I had before been in it, but did not say so then, because I had a Mind to see if she knew it ;) we had her up into it ; she said, *This is the same Room in which I was, but here is more Hay in it than there was then* ; I laid my Hand upon it, and said, *It has lately been shook up* ; it lay hollow : She was then pretty near a Casement ; said I, *If you have been so long in this Room, doubtless you are able to say what is to be seen out here* : She describ'd a Hill at a Distance, which is *Chinkferd-Hill* ; I believe she could not see it at the Time she spoke about it, for I was between her and the Casement, with my Back towards the Casement ; she also said there were some Houses on the other Side the Lane ; then I opened the Casement, we looked, and it was as she had described : I asked where was the Window she broke out of ; she shew'd it us, (there were some Boards nailed up against it,) and said, *That is the Window I used to see the Coach go by at* ; then we pulled down the Board, it was big enough for me to have got out of it, it appear'd to me to be the same Window before she came to the House, for I saw some of the Plaister broke off on the Out-side ; that Window was one Story high.

*Edward Lyon.* The young Woman lived Servant with me till she was missing ; I live in *Aldermanbury*, I was one of the Persons that  
went

went down to *Wells's* House, I went after the rest of the Gentlemen on the first of *February*, we were there some Time before she came, and had taken the People up ; when she came, she was carried into the Kitchen, and set on the Dresser, and the People sat all round her ; I said to her, *BET, don't be frightened or uneasy, you see your Friends about you, and on the other Hand don't be too sure, without you really can swear to what you say, therefore be very careful* : She pitched upon *Mary Squires* to be the Person that cut her Stays off ; she pitched upon a young Woman that was said to be Daughter to *Mary Squires*, and said she was in the Kitchen at the Time, and likewise *Virtue Hall*, but said they did nothing to her ; this black Jug was brought down, a Basin, and the Tobacco Mould ; she said they were both in the Room where she was confined ; she had described this Jug before, and said it was broken at the Mouth, as it now appears to be.

*Robert Scarrat.* I went down to *Enfield-Wash* ; there were six of us in all, her Mother and two Women were with her in the Chaise ; she described the Fields, and likewise a Bridge, that Night she came Home, near the House ; I asked her if she perceived a Tanner's House near, she said she believed there was.

Q. Have you heard the other Evidences that went down give their Evidence ?

*Scarrat.* I have, and what they said is the Truth, which I heard also ; I also heard *E.*

*Canning*

*Canning* examined before the sitting Alderman, she gave the same Account she has done here.

Q. Was *John Squires* in the Room at the Time she pitched upon his Mother and the rest ?

*Scarrat.* He was ; she said she could not swear to him ; he had his Great Coat on at our first going there, but he had pulled it off ; she said he looked like the Person, but she could not swear to him ; they made him put his Great Coat on before the Justice, then she said he looked more like one of the two Men that brought her there.

*Edward Rossiter.* I went down with the rest on the *Thursday* ; I heard *E. Canning* examin'd before Mr. *Tybmaker* the Justice ; she gave the same Account then as now ; she said *John Squires* was much like one of the Men, when he had got his Great Coat on ; she said she did not see *Wells* in the House, but she once saw her out at a Window, but did not know she was the Woman that belonged to the House.

*Sutherton Bakler.* I am an Apothecary ; I saw *E. Canning* the Day after she came Home, on the 30th of *January* about Noon, she was extreamly low and weak ; I could scarcely hear her speak, her Voice was so low, and her Pulse scarcely to be felt, with cold Sweats ; she told me she had no Passage during the whole Time of her Confinement, she was then in such a Condition she had a Glyster administered the  
same

same Day ; she had many Glysters given her, which after some Time relieved her.

Q. Whether a Person that is extreemly col-  
dive cannot subsist longer without Food, or  
with less Food, than a Person that is not so ?

*Bakler.* I cannot answer to that. *Each of  
the Persons that said they went down to take the  
Prisoners were asked where they went to, and  
answered to Enfield-Wash, the House of the  
Prisoner Wells.*

*Mary Squires* said nothing in her Defence,  
but called the following Witnesses :

*John Gibon.* I live at *Abbotsbury*, six Miles  
from *Dorchester*, I am Master of the House  
called the *Old Ship* ; on the first of *January*,  
1753, the Prisoner *Squires* came into the House ;  
there was *George* her Son, and *Lucy* her Daugh-  
ter with her, as she called them ; she came  
with Handkerchiefs, Lawns, Muslins, and  
Checks, to sell about Town ; she staid there  
from the first to the ninth Day of the Month,  
and lay at my House.

Q. How long have you kept that House ?

*Gibon.* I have kept it two Years, come  
*Lady-Day*.

Q. Look at the Woman, are you sure that  
is her ?

*Gibon.* *He looks at Squires, and says, I am  
sure it is.*

#### *Cross-Examination.*

Q. How long have you known her ?

*Gibon.*



*Gibon.* I have known her three Years, and have seen her there three Years ago.

Q. How long have you lived there ?

*Gibon.* I was born at that Town, I am a married Man, have a Wife and one Child, I was bred in the farming Way at *Fisherton*.

Q. By what do you recollect the Day ?

*Gibon.* There came an Exciseman to officiate there for one *John Ward* that was sick, and I put the Day of the Month down when he came ; the Excise-Office is kept at my House, the Man that came was *Andrew Wicks*, or *Wick*.

Q. Did you see the Prisoner sell any of these Goods you mentioned ?

*Gibon.* No, I did not ; they offered them to sell to me, and others ; my Wife bought two Checque Aprons.

*William Clark.* I live at *Abbotsbury*, and have for seven Years ; I remember seeing the Gypsy there ; the last Time I saw her, was on the 10th of *January* last ; I met with them on the Road, we went some Way together, we parted at *Crudeway-foot*, four Miles from *Abbotsbury*, and three from *Dorchester*.

Q. Where was they going ?

*Clark.* I can't tell that.

Q. Had you ever seen her before ?

*Clark.* I saw her, and her Son and Daughter, three Years ago come *March*, at *Abbotsbury* ; they came with Handkerchiefs, Lawns, and Muslins to sell ; I saw the Landlord's Wife at  
the

the *Ship* buy some Aprons of them the last Time they were there.

*Cross Examination.*

Q. How came you to take particular Notice of the Day ?

Clark. By keeping my other Accompts ; I carried Goods out with me the same Day to *Portesham*.

Q. Have you your Book with you ?

Clark. No, I have not, but I can't forget the Day, because I don't go so often.

Q. Which Way were they going ?

Clark. They were making for *London*, they talked so.

Q. Did they give you any Account to what Place they were bound next ?

Clark. They did not ; they lodged at this Man's House (*pointing to Gibon*) at *Abbotsbury*.

Q. Did you see them there ?

Clark. I did, on the first of *January* ; I commonly go there of an Evening to have a Pot of Liquor.

Q. Do you remember when you kept *Christmas-Day* ?

Clark. I do not.

Q. Can you give any Account of the New-Style or Old ?

Clark. No, I cannot ; but if I was to die for the Woman, I'll speak the Truth.

Q. How

Q. How was she cloathed there ?

*Clark.* The same as now, and the Son in a blue Coat and red Waistcoat, and had a Great Coat with him.

Q. What Size is he ?

*Clark.* He is about five Feet seven or eight Inches high ; the Girl was in a Camblet Gown.

Q. You are sure you saw her the Time you mention ?

*Clark.* I undertake to swear positively to that, that I saw her there on the first of *January* last, and either on the ninth or tenth afterwards, and saw them going about the Town in the Time to sell Things.

Q. What are you ?

*Clark.* I am a Housekeeper, and have been in Business about six Years ; I am a Cordwainer.

*Thomas Grevil.* I live at *Coom*, three Miles from *Salisbury* ; I keep a Publick-House there, the Sign of the *Lamb* ; I saw *Mary Squires* at my House on the 14th of *January*.

Q. How many Miles is *Coom* from *Dorchester* ?

*Grevil.* I cannot tell.

Q. Who was with her there ?

*Grevil.* There was her Sister and her Brother, as she said ; they sold Handkerchiefs, Lawns, and such Things.

Q. How long did she stay at *Coom* ?

*Grevil.* They stopped there but one Night.

*Cross-Examination.*

*Cross-Examination.*

Q. What *January* do you mean ?

*Grevil.* I mean last *January*, five Weeks ago last *Sunday*.

Q. How came you to take such particular Notice of it ?

*Grevil.* There was a Carpenter at my House, he having spent the biggest Part of his Money, it being *Sunday* Night, I would have him go about his Business, and put him out of the House two or three Times, and after that he went over the Way to another House, and pawned his Ax.---*These three Witnesses shewed their Subpœna's, as the Cause of their coming to give their Evidence.*

*For the Crown.*

*John Iniser.* I sell Fish and Oysters about *Waltham-Cross* and *Theobalds*. I know the Prisoner *Squires* very well by Sight ; the last Time I saw her before now, was at the Time she was taken at *Susannah Wells's* House ; before that I had seen her several Times every Day up and down, before she was taken.

Q. Are you very certain of that ?

*Iniser.* I am that I saw her three Weeks before, that she walked into People's Houses pretending to tell Fortunes : She told me mine once.

Q. Did you see any Goods she had to sell ?

*Iniser.* No, I did not, I always saw her by herself : I saw a young Man in blue-grey when she



she was taken up, and two young Women, all taken in the House of Wells.

WELLS being called upon to make her Defence, said, "As to her Character it was but  
 " an indifferent one, that she had an unfortu-  
 " nate Husband who was hanged." And added,  
 " She never saw the young Woman (meaning  
 " E. Canning) till they came to take us up;  
 " and as to Squires, she never saw her above a  
 " Week and a Day before they were taken up"  
 Squires guilty, DEATH. Wells guilty.

SQUIRES, the last Day of the Sessions, being asked what she had to say before she received Sentence, answered, that, "On New-Year's Day  
 " I lay at Coom, at the Widow Grevil's House;  
 " the next Day I was at Stoptage; there were  
 " some People who were cast away, and they  
 " came along with me to a little House on the  
 " Top of the Moor, and drank there; there  
 " were my Son and Daughter with me. Coming  
 " along Popham-Lane, there were some Peo-  
 " ple raking up Dung. I drank at the second  
 " Alehouse in Basingstoke on the Thursday in  
 " the New-Year Week. On the Friday I lay  
 " at Bagshot-Heath, at a little tiney House on  
 " the Heath. On the Saturday I lay at Old  
 " Brentford, at Mr. Edwards's, who sells  
 " Greens and Small-Beer. I could have told this  
 " before, but one pulled me and another pulled  
 " me, and would not let me speak. I lay at  
 " Mrs. Edwards's on the Sunday and Monday,  
 " and

“ and on the Tuesday or Wednesday after I  
 “ came from thence to Mrs. Wells’s House.”

Some Days after the Condemnation of the Gypsy, it began to be talked that *Virtue Hall*, who had sworn so positively to all the Particulars at the *Old Bailey*, had or would recant all her Evidence that she had deposed there, and swear the whole to be false. Dr. *Hill*, a Gentleman well known for his many Writings, seems to have been principally and first concerned in bringing out this Recantation of *Virtue Hall*. During which Time, Dr. *Hill* assures us that the late Lord Mayor, Sir *Crisp Gascoyne*, had received Proofs as strong as even this Recantation of *Virtue Hall*, of the perfect Innocency of the Gypsy.

The Doctor, in a Pamphlet he published on the Occasion, speaks of his Enquiry into the Affair in the following Words: “ The Persons (says he) are all unknown to me, but  
 “ the Story was interesting; and Humanity  
 “ must have been unknown to him, who  
 “ should have been let into so much of it, as  
 “ had come to my Knowledge, and not have  
 “ enquired farther. I could have no Interest  
 “ in the Event, farther than as one Creature  
 “ of the same Species is concerned in the Welfare of another; nor was I of any Part,  
 “ unless inclined to pity the miserable Object,  
 “ because she was poor, and a Stranger, and  
 “ oppressed,

“ oppressed, and innocent. Such, at least, I  
 “ was, at that Time, inclined to believe, her ;  
 “ and I am, by all that has passed since, the  
 “ more confirmed in that Opinion. I have  
 “ not seen, nor do I know that I ever shall see,  
 “ the Person whose Cause I am pleading ;  
 “ and in whose Favour I do avow, in the Face  
 “ of Almighty GOD, no Application what-  
 “ soever has been made to me : No one will  
 “ call it a bad Action, that I have endeavoured  
 “ to obtain the Truth, in a Case where Huma-  
 “ nity must have engaged any who had the  
 “ least Suspicion of Falsehood to wish the Se-  
 “ cret known. It will be found, however, ro-  
 “ mantic or absurd, such Conduct may appear  
 “ to many that I have acted in this only on the  
 “ Principle of public Utility ; and as I have  
 “ acted, I would wish to see others also act.”  
 He afterwards says, that it was not on the Cre-  
 dit of *Canning’s* Story that the unhappy Gypsy  
 was condemned. “ Let us not imagine Courts  
 “ of Justice swallow such Relations, (says he :)  
 “ ’Twas on the most full Account, given by one  
 “ who declared that she had seen the whole  
 “ Transaction of which the Court was concern-  
 “ ed to judge : One, who being a Stranger to the  
 “ Accuser, and a Friend of the Persons ac-  
 “ cused, declared she saw the Robbery. This  
 “ was an Evidence which must have been al-  
 “ lowed by any Jury of judicious and unbi-  
 “ asseſſed Men. Now, that we are convinced of  
 “ the Innocence of the Persons who were con-  
 “ demned

“ demned upon the Credit paid to this Evi-  
 “ dence, we must acknowledge, that Human  
 “ Wisdom could not, at that Time, have dis-  
 “ covered, nay scarce could have suspected it  
 “ was false ; and that while unsuspected, it  
 “ had been Injustice not to have done exactly  
 “ as was done upon the Trial.

“ We are now reviewing that Account in a  
 “ very different Light : We have now been  
 “ let into the Secret of its Origin ; we have  
 “ seen her since voluntarily declare, that it was  
 “ false and forged ; not in Part false, but in  
 “ the Whole, and that it was the Offspring  
 “ only of her Terrors ; and though actuated  
 “ from the Influence of the same Apprehen-  
 “ sions, she confirmed it at the Trial, she now  
 “ declares it, freely and voluntarily declares it,  
 “ to have been all a Perjury.

“ She has confessed her Motive to the doing  
 “ and that it was such a one as might well  
 “ have Effect upon an ignorant Creature.  
 “ She has declared this to have been her only  
 “ Motive ; and those who are most concerned,  
 “ do acknowledge that she was very unwilling  
 “ to give it, and was very difficultly brought  
 “ to it.\* What Reason could she have to con-  
 “ tradict it ? None ! To this no one can speak  
 “ with more Authority than I ; and I declare

G

“ she

\* See Page 34 of this Account.



“ she had none. It was to myself she pro-  
 “ mised the Confession. I had no Advantages  
 “ to offer to her, nor any Power to terrify :  
 “ Nor was this done privately ; so that there  
 “ are Witnesses who know how free and per-  
 “ fectly ’twas voluntary. I applied to the  
 “ Lord Mayor, whom, till that Time, I never  
 “ saw, to receive her Confession : She was  
 “ sent for, and she made it.”

Many Things to this Purpose, in Justification  
 of the Gypsy, asserting her Innocence, and that  
 she had been wrongfully condemned, with In-  
 sinuations against the Girl, appearing in the  
 News Papers and Pamphlets, Justice *Fielding*  
 thought it necessary to publish a Pamphlet in  
 Vindication of the Girl, and his own Conduct  
 in the Affair, which he begins as follows :

“ There is nothing more admirable, nor in-  
 “ deed more amiable, in the Law of *England*,  
 “ than the extream Tenderness with which it  
 “ proceeds against Persons accused of Capital  
 “ Crimes. In this Respect it justly claims a  
 “ Preference to the Institutions of all other  
 “ Countries ; in some of which a Criminal is  
 “ hurried to Execution, with rather less Cere-  
 “ mony than is required, by our Law, to carry  
 “ him to Prison ; in many, the Tryals (if  
 “ they may be called such) have little of  
 “ Form, and are so extreamly precipitate, that  
 “ the unhappy Wretch hath no Time to make  
 “ his

“ his Defence, but is often condemned without  
 “ well knowing his Accuser, and sometimes  
 “ without well understanding his Accusation.  
 “ In this happy Kingdom, on the contrary, so  
 “ tender is the Law of the Life of a Subject,  
 “ so cautious of unjustly or erroneously con-  
 “ demning him, that according to its own  
 “ Maxim, *De Morte Hominis, nulla est Cunc-*  
 “ *tatio longa*,\* it proceeds by slow and regular  
 “ Gradations, and requires so many antecedent  
 “ Ceremonies to the ultimate Discussion of a  
 “ Court of Justice, that so far from being in  
 “ Danger of a Condemnation without a fair  
 “ and open Tryal, every Man must be tried  
 “ more than once before he can receive a Ca-  
 “ pital Sentence. By the Law of *England*,  
 “ no Man can be apprehended for Felony,  
 “ without a strong and just Suspicion of his  
 “ Guilt; nor can he be committed to Prison,  
 “ without a Charge on Oath before a lawful  
 “ Magistrate. This Charge must be again  
 “ proved on Oath, to the Satisfaction of a  
 “ large Number (twelve at least) of the better  
 “ Sort of his Countrymen, before the Accused  
 “ can be required to answer to it, or be put on  
 “ his Defence; and after all these Preparatives,  
 “ the Truth of this Charge is to be tried in  
 “ an open Court of Justice, before one at least  
 “ and often many Judges, by twelve indifferent  
 “ and unexceptionable Men: I may truly say  
 “ unexceptionable, since it is in the Prisoner’s  
 “ Power to except against twenty-four, with-  
 “ out

\* In a Case of Death no Delay is too long.

“ out shewing any Cause, and as many more  
 “ as he can shew a reasonable Cause of Ex-  
 “ ception against. These, after a patient  
 “ Hearing of the Witnesses against him, and  
 “ after attending to his Defence, (in the  
 “ making of which, the Law prescribes that  
 “ every Indulgence shall be shewn him, and  
 “ that even his Judge shall be his Council and  
 “ assist him,) must all concur in declaring on  
 “ their Oaths, that he is guilty of the Crime  
 “ alledged against him; or he is to be dis-  
 “ charged, and can never more be called in  
 “ Question for the same Offence, save only in  
 “ the Case of Murder.

“ It seems, I think, that the Wit of Man  
 “ could invent no stronger Bulwark against all  
 “ Injustice, and false Accusation, than this In-  
 “ stitution, under which not only Innocence  
 “ may rejoice in its own Security, but even  
 “ Guilt can scarce be so immodest as to require  
 “ a fairer Chance of escaping the Punishment  
 “ it deserves.

“ And yet, if after all this Precaution it  
 “ should manifestly appear that a Person hath  
 “ been unjustly condemned, either by bring-  
 “ ing to Light some latent Circumstance, or  
 “ by discovering that the Witnesses against  
 “ him are certainly perjured, or by any other  
 “ Means of displaying the Party's Innocence,  
 “ the Gates of Mercy are still left open, and  
 “ upon

“ upon a proper and decent Application, ei-  
 “ ther to the Judge before whom the Tryal  
 “ was had, or to the Privy Council, the con-  
 “ demned Person will be sure of obtaining a  
 “ Pardon, of preserving his Life, and of re-  
 “ gaining both his Liberty and Reputation.

“ To make, therefore, such an Application  
 “ on the Behalf of injured Innocence, is not  
 “ only laudable in every Man, but it is a Duty,  
 “ the Neglect of which he can by no Means  
 “ answer to his own Conscience ; but this, as  
 “ I have said, is to be done in a proper and de-  
 “ cent Manner, by a private Application to  
 “ those with whom the Law hath lodged a  
 “ Power of correcting its Errors, and remit-  
 “ ting its Severity ; whereas to resort immedi-  
 “ ately to the Public by inflammatory Libels  
 “ against the Justice of the Nation, to esta-  
 “ blish a Kind of Court of Appeal from this  
 “ Justice in the Bookseller’s Shop, to re-ex-  
 “ amine in News Papers and Pamphlets the  
 “ Merits of Causes which, after a fair and le-  
 “ gal Tryal, have already received the solemn  
 “ Determination of a Court of Judicature, to  
 “ arraign the Conduct of Magistrates, of Ju-  
 “ ries, and even Judges, and this even with  
 “ the most profligate Indecency, are the Ef-  
 “ fects of a Licentiousness to which no Go-  
 “ vernment, jealous of its own Honour, or  
 “ indeed provident of its own Safety, will ever  
 “ indulge or submit to.

“ Sensible



“ Sensible as I am of this, I should by no  
 “ Means become an Aggressor of this Kind ;  
 “ but surely when such Methods have been  
 “ used to mislead the Public, and to censure  
 “ the Justice of the Nation in its Sagacity at  
 “ least, and grossly to misrepresent their Pro-  
 “ ceedings, it can require little Apology to  
 “ make Use of the same Means to refute so  
 “ iniquitous an Attempt. However unlawful  
 “ a Weapon may be in the Hands of an As-  
 “ sailant, it becomes strictly justifiable in those  
 “ of the Defendant : And as the Judges will  
 “ certainly excuse an Undertaking in Defence  
 “ of themselves, so may I expect that the  
 “ Public (that Part of it, I mean, whose Esteem  
 “ alone I have ever coveted or desired,) should  
 “ shew some Favour to a Design which hath  
 “ in View not a bare Satisfaction of their Cu-  
 “ riosity only, but to prevent them from form-  
 “ ing a very rash, and, possibly, a very unjust  
 “ Judgment. Lastly, there is something within  
 “ myself which rouses me to the Protection of  
 “ injured Innocence, and which prompts me  
 “ with the Hopes of an Applause much more  
 “ valuable than that of the whole World.

“ Without this last Motive, indeed, it may  
 “ be imagined I should scarce have taken up  
 “ my Pen in the Defence of a poor little Girl,  
 “ whom the many have already condemned.  
 “ I well know the extream Difficulty which  
 “ will always be found in obtaining a Reversal

“ of

“ of such a Judgment. Men who have ap-  
 “ plauded themselves, and have been ap-  
 “ plauded by others, for their great Penetra-  
 “ tion and Discernment, will struggle very  
 “ hard before they will give up their Title to  
 “ such Commendation. Though they, per-  
 “ haps, heard the Cause at first with the Im-  
 “ partiality of upright Judges, when they have  
 “ once given their Opinion, they are too apt  
 “ to become warm Advocates, and even in-  
 “ terested Parties in Defence of that Opinion.  
 “ Deplorable, indeed, and desperate is the  
 “ Case of a poor Wretch against whom such  
 “ a Sentence is passed ! No Writ of Error lies  
 “ against this Sentence, but before that tre-  
 “ mendous Court of the Public where it was  
 “ first pronounced ; and no Court whatever  
 “ is, for the Reasons already assigned, so tena-  
 “ cious of the Judgments which it hath once  
 “ given.

“ In Defiance, nevertheless, of this Diffi-  
 “ culty, I am determined to proceed to dis-  
 “ close, as far as I am able, the true State of  
 “ an Affair which, however inconsiderable the  
 “ Parties may be in their Station of Life,  
 “ (though injured Innocence will never ap-  
 “ pear an inconsiderable Object to a good  
 “ Mind,) is now become a Matter of real  
 “ Concern and great Importance to the Pub-  
 “ lic ; against whom a most horrible Impof-  
 “ ture, supported by the most impudent as  
 “ well

“ well as impious Perjury, is dressed up, either on the one Side or on the other.”

He then observes upon the Girl's Evidence, That though her Story should appear ever so improbable, it may yet become a proper Object of our Belief, from the Weight of the Evidence; for there is a Degree of Evidence, by which every Fact that is not impossible to have happened at all, or to have happened in the Manner in which it is related, may be supported and ought to be believed: In all Cases, indeed, the Weight of Evidence ought to be strictly conformable to the Weight of Improbability; and when it is so, the wiser a Man is the sooner and easier he will believe. To say Truth, to judge well of this Conformity is what we truly call Sagacity, and requires the greatest Strength and Force of Understanding. He, who gives a hasty Belief to what is strange and improbable, is guilty of Rashness; but he is much more absurd, who declares that he will believe no such Fact on any Evidence whatever. The World are too much inclined to think, that the Credulous is the only Fool; whereas, in Truth, there is *another Fool* of a quite opposite Character, who is much more difficult to deal with, less liable to the Dominion of Reason, and possessed of a Frailty more prejudicial to himself, and often more detrimental to Mankind in general.

To

To apply this Reasoning to the present Case, (says he) as we have, it is hoped, with great Fairness and Impartiality, stated all the Improbabilities which compose this Girl's Narrative, we will now consider the Evidence that supports them. And when we have done this, it will possibly appear, that the credulous Person is he who believes that *Elizabeth Canning* is a Lyar.

First then, there is one Part of this Story which is incontestably true, as it is a Matter of public Notoriety, and known by almost every Inhabitant in the Parish where her Mother dwells. This is, that the Girl, after the Absence of a Month, returned on the 29th of *January*, in the dreadful Condition before described. This being an established Fact, a very fair Presumption follows, that she was confined somewhere, and by some Person ; that this Confinement was of equal Duration with her Absence ; that she was almost starved to Death ; that she was confined in a Place, whence it was difficult to make her Escape ; that, however, this Escape was possible ; and that, at length, she actually made it : All these are Circumstances which arise from the Nature of the Fact itself. They are what *Tully* calls *Evidentia Rei*, and are stronger than the positive Testimony of any Witnesses ; they do, indeed, carry Conviction with them to every

H Man



Man who hath Capacity enough to draw a Conclusion from the most self-evident Premises.

These Facts being established, I shall oppose Improbability to Improbability ; and first I begin by asking, Why did this Girl conceal the Person who thus cruelly used her ? It could not be a Lover ; for among all the Cruelties, by which Men have become infamous in their Commerce with Women, none of this Kind can, I believe, be produced. What Reason, therefore, can be assigned for this great Degree of more than Christian Forgiveness of such barbarous Usage, is to me, I own, a Secret ; such Forgiveness, therefore, is, at least, as great a Degree of Improbability as any which can be found, or which can be feigned in her Narrative.

Again, What Motive can be invented for her laying this heavy Charge on those who are innocent ? That Street-Robbers and Gypsies, who have scarce even the Appearance of Humanity, should be guilty of wanton Cruelty without a Motive, hath greatly staggered the World, and many have denied the Probability of such a Fact : Will they then imagine that this Girl hath committed a more deliberate, and, therefore, a more atrocious Crime, by endeavouring to take away the Lives of an old Woman, her Son, and another Man, as well as

ruin another Woman, without any Motive whatever ? Will they believe this of a young Girl, hardly eighteen Years old, who hath the unanimous Testimony of all who ever knew her from her Infancy, to support the Character of a virtuous, modest, sober, well-disposed Girl ; and this Character most enforced by those who know her best, and particularly by those with whom she hath lived in Service.

As to any Motive of getting Money by such an Attempt, nothing can be more groundless and evidently false than the Suggestion ; the Subscription which was proposed and publickly advertised, was thought of long after the Girl's Return to her Mother, upon which Return she immediately told the Story in the Presence of Numbers of People, with all the Circumstances with which she hath since, without any Variation, related it. The real Truth is, that this Subscription was set on Foot by several well disposed Neighbours, and very substantial Tradesmen, in order to bring a Sett of horrid Villains to Justice, which then appeared (as it hath since proved) to be a Matter which would be attended with considerable Expence, nor was any Reward to the Girl then thought of ; the first Proposer of which Reward was a noble and generous Lord, who was present at the last Examination of this Matter in *Bow-street* : So that this Charge of the Gypsy Woman, and the rest, if a false one, was absolutely with-

out any Motive at all. A second Improbability which rises as much higher than that to which it is opposed, as the Crime would be higher, since it would be more deliberate, in the Girl, and as her Character is better than that of Street-Robbers, &c.

Again, as the Girl can scarce be supposed wicked enough, so I am far from supposing her witty enough to invent such a Story ; a Story full of Variety of strange Incidents, and worthy the Invention of some Writer of Romances, in many of which we find such Kind of strange Improbabilities that are the Productions of a fertile, though commonly a distempered Brain ; whereas this Girl is a Child in Years, and yet more so in Understanding, with all the evident Marks of Simplicity that I ever discovered in a Human Countenance ; and this I think may be admitted to be a third Improbability.

A fourth seems to me to arise from the Manner in which this poor simple Girl hath supported this Story ; which, as it requires the highest Degree of Wickedness of Heart, and some tolerable Goodness of Head to have invented, so doth it require no small Degree of Assurance to support, and that in large Assemblies of Persons of a much higher Degree than she had ever before appeared in the Presence of: Before Noblemen, and Magistrates, and Judges,  
Persons

Persons who must have inspired a Girl of this Kind with the highest Awe. Before all these she went through her Evidence without Hesitation, Confusion, Trembling, Change of Countenance, or other apparent Emotion. As such a Behaviour could proceed only from the highest Impudence, or most perfect Innocence, so it seemed clearly to arise from the latter, as it was accompanied with such a Shew of Decency, Modesty, and Simplicity, that if these were all affected, which those who disbelieve her must suppose, it must have required not only the highest Art, but the longest Practice and Habit, to bring it to such a Degree of Perfection.

A fifth Improbability is, that this Girl should fix on a Place so far from Home, and where it doth not appear she had ever been before. Had she gone to this Place of her own Accord, or been carried thither by any other than the Person she accused, surely Mother *Wells* would have told this, as it must have acquitted her of the Fact laid to her Charge, and would indeed have destroyed the whole Character of *Elizabeth Canning*, and of Consequence have put an End to the Prosecution; but Mother *Wells*, on the contrary, denied absolutely that *Elizabeth Canning* had ever been in her House, or that she had ever seen her Face before she came there with the Peace Officers.



In this Point, *viz.* That *Elizabeth Canning* was not acquainted with Mother *Wells*, or her House, nor ever there, in any other Manner than as she herself hath informed us, her Evidence stands confirmed by the best and strongest Testimony imaginable, and that is by the Declaration of the Defendant *Wells* herself. It is true, indeed, that as to her being confined there, *Wells* utterly denies it, but she as positively affirms, that this *Elizabeth Canning* was never there at any other Time, nor in any other Manner. From this Point then so established, will result an utter Impossibility; for unless this poor Girl had been well acquainted with the House, the Hay-Loft, the Pitcher, &c. how was it possible that she should describe them all so very exactly as she did, at her Return to her Mother's, in the Presence of such Numbers of People? Nay, she described likewise the Prospect that appeared from the Hay-Loft with such Exactness, as required a long Time to furnish her with the Particulars of. I know but two Ways of her being enabled to give this Description; either she must have been there herself, or must have had her Information from some other. As to the former, *Wells* herself denies it; and as to the latter, I leave to the Conjecture of my ingenious Reader, whether it was Mother *Wells* herself, the Gypsy Woman, *Virtue Hall*, or who else, that instructed *Elizabeth Canning* in all these Particulars.

In the mean Time, I shall beg Leave to conclude, either that we must account for the Girl's Knowledge one of the Ways which I have mentioned ; or, secondly, we must believe an Impossibility.

And now I come to a Piece of Evidence which hath been the principal Foundation of that Credit which I have given to this extraordinary Story. It appeared to me at first to be convincing and unfurmountable, in the same Light it appeared to a Gentleman whose Understanding and Sagacity are of the very first Rate, and who is one of the best Lawyers of his Time ; he owned that this Evidence seem'd to him to be unanswerable, so I acknowledge it yet seems to me, and till it shall receive an Answer, I must continue to believe the Fact which rests upon it.

This is the Agreement, in so many particular Circumstances, between the Evidence of *Elizabeth Canning* and *Virtue Hall*. But in order to lay this Evidence before the Reader in a fair and just Light, it will be necessary to observe, That when the Gypsy, Mother *Wells*, *Virtue Hall*, and the rest of them were carried before Justice *Tyssemaker*, he first examined *Elizabeth Canning* alone, but without taking from her any Information in Writing, and afterwards examined all the Parties ; from whence  
these.

these Facts are obvious, and deserve to be taken Notice of.

*First*, That *Elizabeth Canning* did not make any Information in Writing before this Justice.

*Secondly*, That the History of the Fact that she related to the Justice, was not in the Presence of *Virtue Hall*.

*Thirdly*, That *Elizabeth Canning*, so cautious is she in taking her Oath, declared, That she could not swear to the Gypsy's Son, as the Men's Hats were flapped over their Faces in the House ; and, as when she was first assaulted it was so very dark, she could not distinguish their Countenances ; nor did she charge *Wells* with any Crime at all, except that which resulted from the Tenor of her whole Evidence of keeping a disorderly House.

*Lastly*, That *Virtue Hall* did, at that Time, absolutely deny that she knew any Thing of the Matter, and declared, that *Elizabeth Canning* had never been in *Wells's* House, to her Knowledge, till that Day, nor had she ever seen her Face before ; the Consequence of which Declaration was, that the Gypsy's Son, whom this *Virtue Hall* hath since accused of the Robbery, was discharged by Mr. *Tybbemake*r.

That

That *Virtue Hall* had never seen nor heard the Evidence of *Elizabeth Canning* at the Time when she made her own Information, is a Fact; nay, had she even heard the other repeat it once over before a Justice of Peace, that she should be able, at a Distance of Time, (*viz.* a Fortnight,) to retain every particular Circumstance so exactly as to make it tally in the Manner her Information doth with that of *Elizabeth Canning*, is a Supposition in the highest Degree absurd; and those who can believe it, can believe that which is much more incredible than any Thing in the Narrative of *Elizabeth Canning*.

The only Way, therefore, to account for this is, by supposing that the two Girls laid this Story together. To the Probability and indeed Possibility of this Supposition, I object,

*First*, That from the whole Circumstances of this Case it appears manifestly that they had never seen the Face of each other (unless *Canning* be believed as to the Time when she was brought into *Wells's*,) before the Persons came to apprehend her; nay, *Wells* herself declared before me, that *Canning* had never been in her House, and the other scarce ever out of it during the whole Month in Question.

*Secondly*, If we could suppose they had met together, so as to form this Story, the Behaviour



viour of *Virtue Hall* before Mr. *Tythemaker* would entirely destroy any such Supposition, for there this *Virtue Hall* was so far from being in the same Story with *Elizabeth Canning*, that she there affirmed she knew nothing of the Matter, and she had then no Reason to apprehend any further Examination ; nor is it possible to conceive that these two Girls should afterwards enter into any such Agreement. From the Day of the Examination before Mr. *Tythemaker*, till *Virtue Hall* came before me, the two Girls never saw the Face of each other ; the one remained sick at her Mother's in Town, the other continued at *Wells's* House at *Enfield*, in Company with those who yet persist in their Friendship to *Wells* and the Gypsy. In Reality, I never yet heard a Fact better established in a Court of Justice than this, that *Elizabeth Canning* and *Virtue Hall* did not lay this Story together ; nay, even she herself doth not, as I have heard, since her Apostacy, pretend to say any such Thing, but imputes her Evidence to her being threatened and bullied into it, which to my own Knowledge, and that of many others, is a most impudent Falsehood ; and, secondly, ascribes her agreeing with *Elizabeth Canning* to having heard her deliver her Evidence, which, besides being impossible, can be proved to be another notorious Falsehood, by a great Number of Witnesses of indisputable Credit.

So

So that I think I am here intitled to the following fyllogistical Conclusion.

Whenever two Witnesses declare a Fact, and agree in all the Circumstances of it, either the Fact is true, or they have previously concerted the Evidence between themselves :

But in this Case it is impossible that these Girls should have so previously concerted the Evidence :

And therefore the Fact is true.

The Reader will be pleased to observe, That I do not here lay any Weight on the Evidence of *Virtue Hall*, as far as her own Credit is necessary to support that Evidence, for in Truth she deserves no Credit at all ; the Weight which I here lay on her Evidence is so far only as it is supported by that Evidence of Fact which alone is always safely to be depended upon, as it is alone incapable of a Lye.

And here, though I might very well rest the Merits of the whole Cause on this single Point, yet I cannot conclude the Case of this poor Girl without one Observation, which hath, I own, surprized me, and will, I doubt not, surprize the Reader. It is this, Why did not the Gypsy Woman and *Wells* produce the Evidence of *Fortune Natus* and his Wife in their Defence

fence at their Tryal, since that Evidence, as they well knew, was so very strong in their Behalf, that had the Jury believed it, they must have been acquitted? For my own Part, I can give but one Answer to this, and that is too obvious to need to be here mentioned.

Nor will I quit this Case, without observing the pretty Incident of the minced Pye ; which, as it possibly saved this poor Girl's Life, so doth the Intention of carrying it Home to her little Brother serve very highly to represent the Goodness, as well as Childishness and Simplicity of her Character ; a Character so strongly imprinted in her Countenance, and attested by all her Neighbours.

Upon the whole, this Case, whether it be considered in a private or in a public Light, deserves to be scrutinised to the Bottom. On the one Side here is the Life of a Subject at Stake, who, if her Defence is true, is innocent ; and a young Girl, guilty of the blackest, most premeditated, and most audacious Perjury, levelled against the Lives of several innocent Persons. On the other Side, if the Evidence of *Elizabeth Canning* is true, and Perjury should, nevertheless, prevail against her, an innocent young Creature, who hath suffered the most cruel and unheard-of Injuries, is in Danger of being rewarded for them by Ruin and Infamy ; and what must extremly aggravate her

her Case, and will distinguish her Misery from that of all other Wretches upon Earth, is, that she will owe all this Ruin and Infamy to this strange Circumstance, that her Sufferings have been beyond what Human Nature is supposed capable of bearing.

As to my own Conduct in this Affair, which I have deduced with the most minute Exactness, I know it to be highly justifiable before GOD and before Man. I frankly own, I thought it intitled me to the very Reverse of Censure. The Truth is, the same Motive prevailed with me then, which principally urged me to take up my Pen at this Time, a Desire to protect Innocence, and to detect Guilt ; and the Delight in so doing was the only Reward I ever expected, so help me GOD ; and I have the Satisfaction to be assured, that those who know me best, will most believe me.

In solemn Truth, the only Error I can ever be possibly charged with in this Case, is an Error in Sagacity. If *Elizabeth Canning* be guilty of a false Accusation, I own she hath been capable of imposing on me ; but I have the Comfort to think the same Imposition hath passed not only on two Juries, but likewise on one of the best Judges that ever sat on the Bench of Justice, and on two other very able Judges who were present at the Tryal.

I do



I do not, for my own Part, pretend to Infallibility, though I can at the same Time with Truth declare, that I have never spared any Pains in endeavouring to detect Falsehood and Perjury, and have had some very notable Success that Way.

In this Case, however, one of the most simple Girls I ever saw, if she be a wicked one, hath been too hard for me; supposing her to be such, she hath indeed most grossly deceived me, for I remain still in the same Error: And I appeal, in the most solemn Manner, to the Almighty, for the Truth of what I now assert.

P O S T S C R I P T.

**I**N the extream Hurry in which the foregoing Case was drawn up, I forgot to observe one strange Circumstance which will attend the Case of *Elizabeth Canning*, if it should be admitted to be a Forgery; this is, that she should charge the Gypsy Woman: when she must have known that Woman could prove an *Alibi*, and not *Susannah Wells*, who could have had no such Proof. This will be very strong, if applied to the Evidence of *Canning*, but much stronger when applied to the Evidence of *Virtue Hall*, who lived in the House the whole Time.

Mr.

Mr. *Fielding* has likewise given an Account of what one *Judith Natus* deposed before him.

“ After I had finished (says he) the Examination of *Virtue Hall*, one *Judith Natus*, the Wife of *Fortune Natus*, whom I apprehend to belong to the Gypsies, and who was found in the House with *Virtue Hall*, being examined upon her Oath before me, declared, That she and her Husband lay in the same Room where *Elizabeth Canning* pretended to have been confined during the whole Time of her pretended Confinement; and declared, That she had never seen nor heard of any such Person as *Elizabeth Canning* in *Wells's* House. Upon this *Virtue Hall*, of her own Accord, affirmed, as she doth in her Information in Writing, these two Persons were introduced into that Room, to lie there, by Mother *Wells*, to give a Colour to the Defence which *Wells* was to make, and which these People, in the Presence of *Virtue Hall*, had agreed to swear to.

Upon this some Persons, who were present, were desirous that this *Judith Natus* should be committed for Perjury; but I told them that such a Proceeding would be contrary to Law, for that I might as well commit *Virtue Hall* upon the Evidence of *Judith Natus*. However, as I confess I myself thought her guilty of Perjury, I gave her some little Caution, and told her that she ought to be very sure of the Truth

Truth of what she said, if she intended to give that Evidence at the *Old Bailey*, and then discharged her.

Mr. *Fielding* then declares, That he never saw *Virtue Hall* but three Times after her Deposition ; once, when she was not three Minutes in his Presence, the second Time was in the Presence of Lord *Montfort* and several other Gentlemen of Fashion, who staid till she had left the Room ; a third was when she was brought before him with *Canning*, to see a Man taken on Suspicion of the Robbery, at which Time he scarce spoke to her. He then relates, That after he was informed that a great Number of Affidavits, proving that the Gypsy Woman was at *Abbotsbury* in *Dorsetshire* at the Time *Elizabeth Canning* had sworn she was robbed by her at *Enfield-Wash*, were arrived at the Lord Mayor's Office, he sent for *Canning* once more, and endeavoured, by all Means in his Power, to sift the Truth out of her, and to bring her to a Confession if she was guilty ; but that she persisted in the Truth of the Evidence that she had given, and with the greatest Appearance of Innocence.

This is what Justice *Fielding* has argued on the Subject ; but it is proper that we now mention what has been alledged against his Arguments by Dr. *Hill*. The Doctor begins with  
endeavouring

endeavouring to assign some Cause that may be imagined the Occasion of the Girl's Absence.

“ Where a Girl, like this, (says he) could be, and how employed during the Time, is not difficult to imagine. Not with a Lover certainly, say you ! You would be happy, Sir, if all you beg should be allowed you. Not with a Lover, Sir ! Eighteen, let me remind you, is a critical Age ; and what would not a Woman do, that had made an Escape, to recover her own Credit, and screen her Lover. I pretend to no Knowledge of this, as having been the Case with Respect to the Girl of whom I speak ; but, if we are to reason, let us do it freely ; and what appears so likely ?

The Description she gave of the Room in which she had been confined, is urged by you to justify ; but, Sir, that Circumstance alone ought to condemn her. Let me not be understood to speak of that Description, which she gave after she had seen it : That Subterfuge may serve for the Excuse of those who will be found to want it. But let us now enquire with better Judgment : Let us, Sir, appeal to that Account she gave before the sitting Alderman, by whom she was first examined ; and we shall find it countenance the worst that can be thought against her. Observe the Articles.



She described it to be a *dark Room*, in which she lay upon the *Boards* ; in which there was nothing except a *Grate* with a *Gown* in it ; and a *few Pictures* over the *Chimney* ; from which she made her *Escape* by *forcing down some Boards*, and out of which she had before discovered the *Face* of a *Coachman*, through certain *Cracks* in the *Side*.

Let those who have seen the *Room* speak whether this was a *Description* of it. They will answer *No*. *No*, not in any one *Particular*. Far from being *dark*, there are *two Windows* in it. These have *Casements* which were not fastened, out at which she might have *escaped*, had she been confined in it ; so that pulling down of *Boards* to that *Purpose* could not be necessary : Out at these also, I suppose, she might have *seen this Coachman*, so that she needed not to peep through *Cracks*. There was no *Grate* in the *Chimney* ; so that no *Body* could have been guilty of this most housewifely *Trick* of putting a *Gown* in one : Nor were there any *Pictures* over it. Of the latter there was no *Probability* to be any, because the *House* had no *Profusion* of *Furniture*, and this was a *Room* of *Lumber* : And it is palpable there could have been no *Grate* in the *Chimney* of a long *Time* ; for the whole *Expanse* of it was found covered and overspread with *Cobwebs*, the *Work* of many *Generations* of unmolested *Spiders*.

But

But though there was not what she said she saw in the Chimney, there was about it, Sir, that which she must have seen, had she been there, and which, had she been there twenty-eight Days, she must have seen often enough to have remembered it ; there was a Casement, put up over the Chimney to be out of the Way ; and this not newly laid there, for it was also fixed to the Wall by Cobwebs of long standing.

If this were all, Sir, is not this enough to prove she never was in the Place ? But this is little to the rest. There was a Quantity of Hay, near half a Load, there : Surely too large a Matter to have been overlooked, and too important to have been forgotten : And there were a Multitude of Things besides ; some if not all of which she must have remembered ; but not any one of all which she mentioned.

Some who went first down, Neighbours and Men of Credit, who went to countenance and to support her, had heard her Account of the Room, and when they saw it, were convinced that her Description did not at all belong to it ; they gave her up, and they are to be found to say so. Some who were too officious, eager to have the Story true, because themselves believed it, got there before her also ; these, when they had heard the Objections, rode back Part of the Way to meet her, and after some  
 Conversatio

Conversation with her ; after, for, if I may have Leave to conjecture from the Circumstance, that is the least that can be supposed, asking her if there was not Hay there ; \* that is, in Effect, after telling her there was, and that she should have said so ; rode back, and, with *Huzza's* of Triumph, cried they were all right yet ; for she said now there was Hay in the Room. Was this or could it be an Evidence of Weight with the Impartial ? The best Way to determine is to ask one's self the Question. What would it have been to you who are now reading of it ?

But let me call up fairly the rest of your Arguments : You shall not say I deal partially with you, by omitting any that seem to yourself of Importance ; and you shall hear the World say, so much I'll answer for them, that they are one as important and as conclusive as the other.

You have supposed the Girl not *wicked* enough to have devised such a Deceit : That, GOD and her own Heart alone can tell ; and neither you nor I have Right to judge of it. But you add, and this we both may judge of,  
That

\* This was absolutely denied by the Person on Oath at the late Tryal ; who declared, That she first mentioned Hay being in the Room to him, and that he did not give her the least Hint of any Thing in the Room.

That you do not suppose her *witty* enough to have invented the Story. I give you Joy, Sir, of your own Wit, for thinking so ! I am very far from entertaining an high Opinion of the Girl's Intellects ; but such as they are, I think the Story tallies with them : None but a Fool could have devised so bad a one.

But I shall follow you through some more of these your supposed Improbabilities ; and shew you they all as probable as these. That she should fix upon a Place *so far from Home*, is one of them. That may have been the very Reason why she fixed upon it : To me it would have seemed much more strange, if she had fixed on one that was nearer. The farther off, the farther from Detection.

That Mrs. *Wells's* House should be particularly hit upon, seems strange to you. But Mrs. *Wells's* was a House of evil Fame, and there was no other such about the Neighbourhood : The Improbability must needs be, therefore, that of her fixing upon any other.

We are asked, How should she know this House, as she approached it ? No Body ever heard that she did know it, as she approached : And for the famous Question, How she could, among a Number of People, fix upon the *Gypsy* whom she had particularly described before, as the Person that had robbed her ? The  
Answer



Answer is a very fatal and severe one ; it is that she *had not particularly described her before*. It is palpable she never spoke of her even as a *Gypsy*, though no Woman ever possessed the Colour and the Character of that singular People so strongly : Nor had she given any particular Account of her Face ; which, had she ever seen it before, must have been remembered ; for it is like that of no Human Creature.\* The lower Part of it is affected most remarkably by the Evil : The under Lip of an enormous Thickness ; and the Nose such as never before stood in a Mortal Countenance.

But these are Trifles : You'll give me up all these : I know you will ; for you'll do every Thing you must. You'll give all this and laugh at the Advantage. The Strength is yet behind : These are the Out-works ; but I shall overthrow your Citadel. This Evidence of *Hall*, you have reserved to the End ; and I have reserved it too. Let us now state it fairly. I'll give it all the Strength you can desire ; and when I have done so, I will shew you, but that's unnecessary ; I'll explain to the World, how all its false Strength was derived to it. Let us here take it in the whole.

The Account of the Transaction, with Respect to the Robbery, you argue must be true, because *Canning* and *Hall* relate it both alike. But all Men see how weak an Argument that is.

\* Our Readers will be better able to judge of the Countenance of the *GYPSEY*, by the Picture of her that we shall give *Gratis*, which will be a true Likeness.

is. I will not suppose Mr. *Fielding* can be guilty of designing to impose upon the World in this or any Part of the Case which he has published, and therefore I will call it only a weak Argument. Let us consider the Circumstances under which these Accounts were procured, and we shall see they could not be otherwise than perfectly alike, even though they both were false.

We, who suppose the Convict innocent, believe the Account of *Canning* to be a concerted Plan, long laboured, and well inculcated. That she should not vary herself in the relating it, will not therefore be wonderful : And I shall allow you Council ! for you are not here acting in any other Character ; that if the Evidence *Hall* had made a free and voluntary Confession, without Fear, and without Constraint, and this Confession had in all Points confirmed the Account of the other ; and if she had before known nothing of her Story, there would have been all the Argument and all the Weight in it that you would have us grant.

But let me ask you, Sir, for none know better than you do, Were these the Circumstances of that Confession ? I need not ask you : Your Pamphlet contradicts it. She refused to confess any such Thing, you tell us so yourself, throughout six Hours of strong Sollicitation, and she consented to do it at last : Why ? She  
says,

says, and you say the same, it was because she was elle to be prosecuted as a Felon.

Let us suppose the Story as we think it: An innocent and an ignorant Creature saw Perjury strong against herself: She saw a Prison the immediate Consequence: She supposed the Oaths that prevailed against her Liberty, tho' innocent, might also prevail against her Life, though innocent; and, to save herself from the Effects of this Perjury, she submitted to support the Charge it made against others; against those whom she supposed condemned without her Crime, and whom she thought too certain of Destruction to be injured by any Thing she added.

That this was the Case, her own Account, that of the World, and even your's, concur to prove; nay, and the very Consequences prove it. If she had sworn the Truth at this Time, is it, or can it be supposed, that, unawed and untempted, (for I had no Authority, and the Lord Mayor has Testimony that he used none with her,) is it to be supposed that she would have gone back from it to Falsehood? and that she would have done this at a Time when it might have been destructive to herself; and when it could only tend to let loose upon her those whom she had injured, and those whom she always affected at least to fear? Certainly she would not. There could be in Nature no  
Motive

Motive to her doing it; and the most rational do not act without some Impulse.

But let us ask the Question on the other Part! We shall then find it answered easily. Let us suppose we see, for 'tis most certain we do see such a one, a Person who had been awed by her Ignorance, and Fears, into swearing a Falshood; after having first voluntarily declared, in the same Case, that which was the Truth: We see her conscious that, by that Oath, she had procured the Sentence of Death against a Person whom she knew to be innocent; and we shall not wonder at the Consequence. Who is there lives, so abandoned, that he can say he never felt a Pang of-Conscience? The Idiot, the Atheist, would in vain attempt to persuade Men of it. Suppose what she had thus sworn to be false, as there are now a Multiplicity of Proofs that it all was false, what are we to imagine must be the Consequences? Unquestionably, Terror, Anguish, and Remorse; Wishes to speak, and Eagerness to do it. Where is the Wonder then that she should snatch at the first Opportunity; that she should be persuaded to do it, even by the most Uneloquent! Where the Wonder that she should thus go back into that Truth which she had lately denied; and when she had confessed the Perjury, declare and testify (for she did much more than declare it) her Heart at



Ease from that which had been a Burthen and a Distress intolerable and insupportable.

This she declares to be the Fact, and what can be more natural? There is as much Face of Truth in her Recantation seen in this Light, as there would be Absurdity if it were looked upon in another.

But their Informations, you repeat, are so alike! Sir, I must tell you, they are too like: Why do not you also see it? Indeed the Term *like* is improper; they are not like, for they are in Effect the same: And farther, which is an Observation that must sting somewhere, though these their Informations are thus like, their Evidence upon the Tryal was not so. That we may know whether these could be so like without having a common Truth for their Foundation, let us examine into the Circumstances.

Had *Virtue Hall* ever heard the Story of *Canning* before she gave this Information? For if she had, allowing it all to be false, she would assuredly make it like her's, by repeating the same Circumstances. Let us enquire then, whether she had ever heard the Story? Yes, she had heard it many Times. It appears by her Account, and by the Concurrence of all other Testimonies, that she had heard it from *Canning's* own Mouth at *Enfield* on the first of  
February;

*February*; on the same Day also she says she heard it, and undoubtedly she did, at Mr. *Tyssemaker's*: For, eight Days after this, the Story of this *Canning*, as herself had repeated it, now twice in the Hearing of this *Hall*, was published in the News-Papers, to raise Subscriptions. *Hall* can read; or, if she could not, she had Ears, and must have heard this from all who came to her.

Now let us see when 'twas she gave this weighty Information. 'Twas after all this Opportunity of knowing what it was *Canning* said; 'twas on the fourteenth of *February*, and not before, that she was examined by Mr. *Fielding*. There, as himself informs us, she was under Examination from Six to Twelve at Night, and then, after many hard Struggles and stout Denials, such are his own Words, She did, what? Why she put her Mark to an Information, and swore what it contained was true. What it contained, was the same that contained, which had before been sworn by *Canning*. The same Person drew both; and that not the Magistrate, no, nor his Clerk: Who then?---Why the Attorney who was engaged to manage the Prosecution.

Now, Syllogist, where is your Argument! Can two Persons who swear the same Thing agree in all Particulars, and yet that Thing be false? Yes, certainly, if one has heard the

other's Story : As certainly if the same Hand drew up both the Informations, and both that swear are perjured. This is the true State of the Question : You beg too much, as you have put it.

But let us see how these, who agreed so well in the written Informations, agreed in verbal Evidence. We shall find they did not coincide in that ; and we shall find a Court of Justice is not satisfied with a few Questions.

Let those who would know this, examine the printed Trial : They will, in that, find *Canning* swearing that no Body came into the Room all the Time she was there, and that she found the Pitcher there : And they will find *Hall* swearing that the Pitcher was put into the Room three Hours afterward by the Gypsy. They will find, though both agree in the Fact, yet a Difference in the Circumstances even of the Robbery : *Canning* swears the two Men took her Stays and went out, while she was yet below ; but *Hall* swears this was done after she was put up into the Room.

None will wonder, Sir, that Informations thus taken and under these Circumstances, should agree in all Things, even though both were false ; nor was it possible for the Jury, on hearing the Evidence of both agreeing in general with these Informations, to do other than

than find the Accused guilty: None wonder'd at it, nor will wonder: None were ever weak enough, or wicked enough, to reflect upon them. But although they saw nothing to contradict the Truth of all this Swearing, you did, and you acknowledge it: You acknowledge there came before you something to contradict it, and it deserved its Weight.

*Canning's* Story appeared improbable; all rested upon the Evidence of *Hall*: And there was given to you, against that Evidence, the Oath of *Judith Natus*, one not belonging to the Gypsies, and whom you have not any Reason to apprehend belonging to them; an honest Woman, Wife of an honest Labourer, who, with her Husband, lay in the very Room in which the Girl pretended to have been confined, during the whole Time of that alledged Confinement. Here was the Evidence of a Person of honest Character, and quite disinterested, against that of *Virtue Hall*, confessed of bad Character, and deeply interested. This Oath, Sir, you will find was Truth: It will be seen: It will be proved that it was so, by Evidence the most incontestible. In the mean Time, let me, in the Name of Virtue and Impartiality, ask the whole World whether this free Oath of an unconcerned Person, or the hardly obtained Information of one who was interested, and had the Alternative only of that



Information or a Prison, deserves the most Respect ?

You ask, Sir, why this Woman, and with her this Husband, were not produced upon the Tryal ? You tell us you can give but one Answer to this, and that you conceal ; Sir, I can give another, and it shall stand openly. The Reason is plain, and 'tis a dreadful one. They were subpæna'd, and they were ready at the Court ; but the Mob without Doors had been so exasperated against all that should appear on the Part of the Accused,\* that they were prevented from getting in, and treated themselves like Criminals."

Having thus very impartially given what Mr. *Fielding* and Dr. *Hill* have said on this Subject, our Readers, in comparing them together with a little Attention, will easily perceive which Side appears in the most favourable Light. We now proceed to give what Dr. *Cox*, a Physician of great Reputation in *London*, has said ; who took the Pains himself of examining into many material, though private Circumstances, which regarded the Affair. Dr. *Cox* begins with the Character of the Girl.

" The Character of *Elizabeth Canning* (says he) is well supported by several Tradesmen of Probity and Integrity in the Neighbourhood of *Aldermanbury*, who have known her from her Childhood,

\* Upon the late Tryal *Fortune Natus* owned, that the Reason he did not appear was, that he was not called.

Childhood, the Daughter of an industrious working Man, some Time since dead, who left behind him a Widow, a Woman of an honest Character, with five Children. The eldest, *Elizabeth Canning*, is now near nineteen Years of Age, her Person plain, and short of Stature : She has lived as a Servant Maid for some Years past in the Neighbourhood, without any Reproach upon her Character. Her last Master, Mr. *Lyon*, a Carpenter in *Aldermanbury*, a Person in Years, and of a solid Reputation, with whom she lived at the Time of the Robbery, speaks of her as a sober and virtuous Girl, diligent and constant in her Business, and thinks that himself and his Wife could almost account for every half Hour of her Time that she lived with them, which was about ten or twelve Weeks. In much the same Manner is she spoken of by the other Families where she was Servant, particularly by Mr. *Wintlebury*, who keeps the *Weavers Arms*, a very reputable Publick House in *Aldermanbury*, with whom she lived near two Years, and behaved with remarkable Sobriety, Modesty, and Diligence.

It was this general good Character of the Girl, joined to their Persuasion of the Justice of her Cause, that induced the neighbouring Tradesmen, to the Number of seven or eight, to unite in her Defence ; and it is the same generous Disposition of Heart that still induces them

them to declare, that, while they have the same Reason to think her innocent, they shall continue to protect her, in case she should be again attacked, notwithstanding that her Defence has already proved very expensive to them. Her Understanding appears moderate; she has a remarkable Simplicity in her Answers to Questions one puts to her, and appears to have no Intention of Guile or Deceit in any Thing she speaks.

Such a Character as this, even in the low State of Life in which this Girl is placed, deserves Esteem. Virtue is not the Attribute alone of the Wise, the Learned, or the Rich; it is a Distinction as truly worthy in the obscure Station of Servitude, as in the most exalted Rank of Honours and Dignities, and the Possessor as much entitled to the Protection of Providence, (this poor Girl has amply experienced it) as though it was accompanied with every Convenience or Superfluity of Life. If such a Character then could be wicked enough to have invented her Story, and to support it afterwards with Perjury, and an Intention of Murder, as she must have known the Crime she charged the Gypsy with was Capital, her Transition from Goodness to Wickedness must have been amazingly sudden, contrary to common Observation, which teaches that the Progress of Vice is, for the most Part, gradual.

Let

Let any one now in a higher Station of Life, apply what has been said to a Daughter of their own, dutiful to her Parents, decent, modest, and virtuous, and with the Appearance of every other good Quality of her Station; and, bringing this close Home to themselves, let them reflect, whether they should suspect such a Daughter of such deliberate Iniquity? On the contrary, had such a Daughter related the same Story, and solemnly too before a Court of Judicature, in the Presence of, and with an Appeal to Almighty GOD, whether it would not have gained easy Credit from them, and engaged them and their Friends in the zealous Protection of her.

I proceed next to prove, by proper Testimonies, the Falshood of some of the Slanders that have been thrown out against her.

And here, I hope, I shall be excused for reciting, in so circumstantial a Manner, the Examinations I made, as I was not willing the Testimonies should rest upon the mere Persuasion of my own Mind, and my single Declaration thereupon, without shewing upon what Grounds they were built. Besides, it appears to me, that the Public, in an Address of this Nature, has a Right to the same Sort of Evidence that a Court of Judicature demands, which  
always



always expects a Witness to explain himself without Reserve.

On Monday, April 9, 1753, at the Desire of a Gentleman of Fortune, a particular Friend, I went to Mr. *Marshall's*, a Cheese-monger in Fore-street, where *Elizabeth Canning* dwelt, to enquire into the Foundation of a Report, every where strongly asserted, that a Midwife had made Information before the Lord Mayor, that she had visited the Mother of *Elizabeth Canning* a few Days after the Girl's Return Home, had seen her Shift, and that it was too clean to have been worn so long as had been pretended.

I sent for Mrs. *Canning*, the Mother of the Girl, to Mr. *Marshall's* House; and in his Par-lour, in the Presence of himself and another Tradesman of the Neighbourhood, examined her concerning this Matter. I began with some Questions somewhat remote from the main Point, as how many Children she had had? what Kind of Labours? and who was her Midwife? To all which she replied. I then asked her, if she had seen her Midwife since the Girl's Return? She said the Midwife had called upon her a few Days after her Return. I then enquired, without offering any leading Questions, whether the Midwife had seen, and said any Thing about her Daughter's Shift? And, the Purport of Mrs. *Canning's* Answers

Answers was as follows, viz.----That the Midwife desired to see the Girl's Shift which she came Home in, that she examined it, and said she would make Oath, that from the Appearance of the Shift, the Girl had had no Commerce with Men, nor any Distemper, or other Discharge, for that the Shift was free from all Kinds of Stains, or used Words to this general Effect. I then asked her, if the Midwife expressed any Doubt of that Shift's being the Shift the Girl had worn so long; and she replied No, not in the least. I then asked Mrs. Canning whether she believed the Shift was her Daughter's, and the same Shift she had on, on New-Year's Day? She replied, she knew the Shift very well, that it was a coarse Shift with several Patches in it, and that she was sure it was her Daughter's Shift, and believed she went out in that Shift on New-Year's Day. I questioned her as to the Soil upon the Shift, and whether she thought it was dirty enough to have been worn so many Days? And she answered, it was very dirty at the Sleeves and Neck, but cleaner in the Body, and to her Belief might have been worn so long. I asked her about her Daughter's Behaviour to her, and she said she was a very good Girl, and had always been the very best of Children.

I enquired if any other Person was present when the Midwife was with her, and she nam'd to me one Mrs. Woodward, who is a Broker in Goods

Goods in the Neighbourhood. I desired Mrs. *Woodward* might be sent for, and she came to me immediately. I put Mrs. *Canning* out of the Room, and asked Mrs. *Woodward* the same Kind of Questions, relating to the Midwife's Inspection of the Shift, which I had put to Mrs. *Canning*, and her Answers corresponded in every Particular, as to the Soil upon the Sleeves and Neck of the Shift, the Freedom from Stains on the lower Parts, and the Declaration of the Midwife, who, Mrs. *Woodward* believed, by her Manner of expressing herself, had no Doubts at that Time about the Girl's Innocence.

Both Mrs. *Canning* and Mrs. *Woodward* appeared to me very decent, modest Women, and have, as the Tradesmen informed me, the Characters of very honest, industrious People: From whence, and from the Readiness and Simplicity of their Answers, I could not help being satisfied in my own Mind of their Veracity.

In a former Visit I made at Mr. *Marshall's* on the 30th of *March*, the first Day I ever saw *Elizabeth Canning*, I was alone with her, and among other Questions concerning her Health, I enquired whether before her going from Home on New-Year's Day, she had been regular in her Courses? She replied, without any Kind of Hesitation, that she had not had  
them.

them for about five Months before. That one Night being up at washing when she was out of Order, she took Cold, and they ceased, nor had returned again but since she came Home: This is no uncommon Case with Servants who are obliged to dabble in cold Water, the Obstructions frequently continuing some Months and sometimes without any great Complaints of Illness. I could not help reflecting, when the Girl gave me this Answer, that if she had been cunning enough to have devised her whole extraordinary Story, in order to cover a private Lying-in, as has been cruelly suggested, and with a Levity and Wantonness unbecoming the Importance of the Subject, as the rest of the Calumnies against her have been, she would have been artful enough to have concealed a Circumstance, which might have countenanced a Suspicion, that the Obstruction had been of longer Duration, and had arisen from some other Cause than what she had alledged.

As her Costiveness has been made one Objection to the Truth of her Story, this may be a proper Place just to mention my Opinion on that Head, which is, that this State of her Intestines was quite natural to her Case, as she relates it---a kind Providence of Nature, ever solicitous to support the Body under every Emergency of Danger---the principal natural Cause of the Preservation of her Life, which, under such a limited Diet, frequent intestinal Evacuations



Evacuations would probably have destroyed, and which Costiveness might have continued several Months, had her Diet being the same: Instances of long continued Costiveness are far from rare, and are not always to be considered as morbid Cases, but frequently a salutary Provision of Nature, as before said, in order to the Preservation of Life. The Observation is within the Experience of most Practitioners in Physic, and it is needless here to enter into the Theory, as we are professing to depend upon Facts, not Speculation. I remember the Case of a Woman about a Dozen Years since, who had no intestinal or any other capital Evacuation for at least five or six Months before she died. And I have lately heard a Gentleman of Worth and Character in the *East India* Trade declare, that he has known Sailors to be costive for twenty or thirty Days together, when reduced, in their Provisions, to Biscuit and Water, as sometimes happens to them in long Voyages.

In order to be satisfied about two other Pieces of Slander, viz. That she had been absent in order to be salivated, or that she had retired to lie in, I examined, at the Desire of an eminent Council, into these Facts.

On *Wednesday, May 9*, I looked into *Elizabeth Canning's* Mouth, and discovered no Marks or Scars, such as are usually caused by Mercury when

when any one is salivated, and therefore declare it my Opinion, as far as the Distance of Time from her Absence enables me to judge, that she has not undergone a Salivation. Besides, it is sufficiently testified, that when she came Home her Skin was in general discoloured of a blackish Hue, her Arms retaining that Colour on the 30th of *March*, and some Time after; whereas a Salivation leaves the Skin fair and pale. Neither indeed is the Time she was absent sufficient for such a Process, without leaving some Degree of Spitting and a sore Mouth when she came Home, which, on Enquiry, I have Reason to think was not the Case.

On *Tuesday*, May the 15th, I took with me to Mr. *Marshal's* House, Mrs. *Frances Oakes*, first Midwife to the lying in Hospital in *Brownlow-street*, in order to examine whether there was any Foundation for the other Report, that *Elizabeth Canning* had retired to lie in.

Mrs. *Oakes* first examined her alone by the several usual Methods, as she said, of Examination, and declared to me as her positive Judgment and Opinion, that *Elizabeth Canning* has never had a Child. I was then desired by Mrs. *Oakes* to examine her Breasts and Belly, which with much Reluctance the Girl submitted to; and, according to my Judgment in this Case, I verily believe she has never had a Child. Lastly, Mrs. *Rossiter*, a Baker's Wife, and  
Mrs.

Mrs. *Woodward*, a Broker's Wife, both living in the Neighbourhood, and Mrs. *Canning*, Mother of the Girl, made a full Examination in the Presence and under the Instruction of Mrs. *Oakes*, and all declared their Belief, that *Elizabeth Canning* never had a Child.

As to the other Charges, such as her being absent with a Lover, and the like, one general Reply may serve for all, Let their Truth be proved, and they will not fail of gaining Assent: Every Charge that has been yet brought against her has fallen to the Ground, and, I imagine, her Adversaries have now very little Hopes of discovering with whom she hath been, or in what other Place, than that she hath sworn to: Though, I own, I think it is in some Degree incumbent upon them, at least in Point of Conscience, if not of Law, that, while they rely on the Evidence of the Gypsy's *Alibi* to prove her innocent, they should produce some Evidence of *Canning's Alibi*, before they pronounce her guilty.

The Doctor then remarks upon the Confession of *Virtue Hall*, made to Justice *Fielding*, and the Evidence which she gave on the Trial of the Gypsy at the *Old Bailey*. That there is the strongest Proof of its being true, because she not only gave the same Account of every Circumstance as *Canning* did, whom she had never heard examined, but gave an Account of several

several consequential Circumstances which *Canning* neither did or could know any Thing of. And he observes, That whatever Methods of threatening Mr. *Fielding* might use, to induce *Virtue Hall* to become an Evidence in an Affair in which she appeared to be an *Accomplice*, he could not frighten her to give a false Evidence; neither could Mr. *Salt*, *Canning's* Solicitor, who took down her Information in Writing in another Room, in the Presence of at least seven or eight Persons, have prompted her Confession, because there are several Parts of *Hall's* Evidence, Mr. *Salt* could not have learned from his Examination of *Canning*, since *Canning* herself had never mentioned them, nor could have known them. If any one had corrupted *Hall*, there must be some Time settled for her Corruption; and she must have been able by this Time to point out the Corruptor, and the Reward for Corruption. She swore to Facts when she was under no Bias with Respect to the Matter of her Evidence, and her Recantation since, merely as such, whether on Oath or simple Declaration, does not invalidate that Evidence; since the subsequent Testimony of one, who, while she is making it, declares she was before forsworn, is no Testimony at all, either in Law or common Sense. Besides, her Evidence was declared upon the Oath of one, whose Oath was then voluntary, and who must know whether what she swore was true or false, and corresponds with the Evidence of the Pro-

L

secutor



secutor in every material Article they might jointly know, and differs only in such Points which they might separately know.

Dr. Cox then takes Notice of the Contradictions between the Gypsy and her Witnesses upon her Trial : \* *John Gibon*, he observes, swore that the Gypsy was at his House from the 1st to the 8th of *January*, New-Style : *William Clarke* swore he saw her at *Abbotsbury* on the first of *January*, and on the ninth and tenth afterwards : *Tho. Grevill* of *Coom* deposed that she was at his House on the 14th of *January*. Whereas, when the Gypsy was called up to receive her Sentence, she gave the following Account : “ On New-Year’s Day I lay at “ *Coom*, at the Widow *Grevill*’s House.--- The “ next Day I went to *Stoptage*.---I drank at “ the second Alehouse in *Basingstoke*, on the “ *Thursday* in the New-Year’s Week.---On “ the *Friday* I lay at *Bagshot-heath*, at a little “ tiny House on the Heath.--- On the *Satur-* “ *day* I lay at *Old Brentford*, at Mr. *Edwards*’s, “ who sells Greens and Small Beer. I could “ have told this before, but one pulled me, and “ another pulled me, and would not let me speak. “ I lay at Mrs. *Edwards*’s on the *Sunday* and “ *Monday*, and on *Tuesday* or *Wednesday* after, “ I came to Mrs. *Wells*’s House.”

In this Account she plainly reckons by the New-Style, because she speaks of a *Thursday* in the

\* See Page 57.

the New-Year's Week, which is proper to a New-Year's Week that began on *Monday*, but would be absurd in one that began on *Friday*, if she had reckoned by the Old-Style. And yet this has been said in order to avoid the Contradiction to her own Witneses.

The Doctor then shows, that whether we reckon by the Old or the New-Style, these two Accounts cannot be brought to agree: As for Example

# NEW-STYLE.

*Monday, Jan. 1,* The Gypsy says she was at the Widow *Grevill's* at *Coom*.

*Gibon* says she was that Day at his House at *Abbotsbury*.

*Tuesday --- 2,* She says she was at *Stoptage*.

*Wednesday --- 3,* Not accounted for by her.

*Thursday --- 4,* Her third Day's Journey, drank at the second Ale-house in *Basingstoke*.

*Friday ----- 5,* Lay at a little House on *Bagshot-beath*.

*Saturday ----- 6,* } Lay at *Edwards's* at *Brent-*

*Sunday ----- 7,* } *ford*.

*Monday ----- 8,* }

Went from *Edwards's* to *Mrs. Wells's* House at *En-*

*Tuesday ----- 9,* } *field*.--*Gibon* and *Clarke* say

or

*Wednesday -- 10,* } she was at *Abbotsbury* till the ninth or tenth of *Ja-*  
*nuary*, and *Grevill* says she lay at *Coom* the fourteenth.

OLD

## OLD-STYLE..

Jan.

- 1.---12 Friday, --- She lay at Widow Grevill's House at Coom: Grevill says she came there on the fourteenth, and staid one Night.
- 2.---13 Saturday, -- Was at Stoptage.
- 3.---14 Sunday, --- Not accounted for.
- 4.---15 Monday, -- The third Day's Journey, which she calls Thursday in New Year's Week, by Old-Style is Monday.
- 5.---16 Tuesday, -- The Friday she came to Bagshot-beath.
- 6.---17 Wednesday, The Saturday, Sunday,
- 7.---18 Thursday, } and Monday she stay'd
- 8.---19 Friday, } at Edwards's.
- 9.---20 Saturday } The Tuesday or Wednesday she says she went
- 10.---21 Sunday, } to Mother Wells's at Enfield.

Thus it is seen that her Account both by New and Old-Style contradicts her Witnesses, and by Old-Style is direct Nonsense.

But the Rev. Mr. Rhudde, Vicar of Portesham in Dorsetshire, in a Letter he wrote to a Member of Parliament on the Occasion, endeavours

deavours to reconcile it in the following Manner :

“ In Respect of the great Difficulties found attending this Affair, (so far as we have to do with it in Vindication of *Mary Squires*) I mean no other than that of her Calculation of Time ; by which, she is supposed to have invalidated, all that the *Abbotsbury* and *Coome* Witnesses had sworn in her Favour : This, I conceive, is to be accounted for upon the Principle of the Two Styles, *Old* and *New*. Not, however, without the Help of a Circumstance, which has not been, hitherto, so generally known ; and which, I shall introduce in its proper Place. As thus :

The *Abbotsbury* Witnesses, *Gibbons* and *Clarke*, reckoning by the *New Style*, account for *Mary Squires's* Time from Monday the first of *January*, to Monday the Eighth, inclusive. NEW STYLE 1 --- 8

The *Portesbam* Witnesses, *Haines* (Father and Son) account for *Tuesday* 9

The *Upwey* Witness, *Bewley*, accounts for *Wednesday*, 10

The next four Days, (*Thursday* *Friday*, *Saturday*, and *Sunday*) were taken up in going from *Upwey* to *Coome*, by the following Stages,

They lay under a Hedge, *Thursday* 11

In a Barn at *Cbettle*, *Friday* 12

In



In a Barn at *Martin*, near *Pentridge*, N.S.  
*Saturday* 13

At *Coom*, at *Greville's*, the Sign of  
 the *Lamb*, 14

Then comes *Mary Squires*, and reckoning  
 by the *Old Style*, (as, it is well known, the  
*People* out of an illiterate and ill-manner'd  
 Opposition to Science and their Superiors, as  
 usual, were every where very much disposed to  
 do, in keeping *Christmas*, and all the immediate  
 dependent Festivals,) then, I say, comes *Mary*  
*Squires*, and tells us, that she lay at *Coom* on  
*New-Year's-Day*, (O. S.) *Sunday* O.S. N.S.

3 14  
 But how do you imagine, Sir, that she  
 knew it was *New-Year's-Day*, O. S.  
 when she lay at *Coom*? Why really  
 by a Method, which would have puz-  
 zled us all to have discovered, if she  
 herself had, not communicated it. It  
 was, in short, Sir, no other than this ve-  
 ry singular one, viz, *That she heard the*  
*People there, wishing one another a hap-*  
*py New-Year.* But who sees not,  
 that this Way of concluding is, by no  
 Means determinate, as to the precise  
 Day? Since, what she refers to, is a  
 Compliment; it is well known, which  
 subsists much beyond the Limits of *New*  
*Year's Day* itself. ----- The Inference is,  
 that (even consistent with her own Ac-  
 count, as well as that of *Greville*) she

did



Persons, all of the lowest Order, in Respect of Capacity and Knowledge ; and, 4. These reckoned by two Methods of Computation, viz. the *New* and the *Old-Style*.

The Appearance of Contradiction between *Mary Squires's* Account and that of her Witnesses, is produced as follows :

They all reckon by the *New-Style* ; which does not bring her to *Coom* till *Sunday* the 14th of *January*, as *Grevill* deposes ; whereas she herself (setting out, or beginning her Account, from *Coom*, where the Compliments of the New-Year of the *Vulgar*, ever blindly attach'd to old Establishments, however erroneous or absurd, struck her, and still, at her Tryal, rung, as it were, in her Ears,) reckons by the *Old Style* ; yet not accurately, or to a Day, but, in the Gross, from the more general Beginning of the *Old Style* Year : What she considered as New-Year's Day, O. S. missed, as above, by *the Compliments of the Season*, being in Reality no other than the third Day of the Month, O. S. that is, as *Grevill* swears, *Sunday* the 14th, N. S.

The above Representation allowed, (and I don't see how it can be disputed,) what follows, as given by her not to say all that precedes, as laid down by her Witnesses, is perfectly clear  
and

and consistent, and supports her *Alibi* to all Intents and Purposes.

Upon which View of Things, Dr. Cox will allow me to observe, that the Mistake, in his Endeavour to reconcile the Account of Time given by *Squires* and her Witnesses, lies, I apprehend, here: That he endeavours this Reconciliation by the two Styles, separately considered; attempting it first by the *New*, and then by the *Old*. Whereas the only Way, I apprehend, of bringing out this Accommodation, is by referring to both Styles as above, in continued Connection: That is to say, First, by supposing (as was the certain Fact) that *Mary Squires* spent the first fourteen Days of the *New-Style* Year between *Abbotsbury* and *Coom*; and then, Secondly, that she begins her Account of the Year again at *Coom*, (misled as above) and so reckons on by the Days of the Week, till she arrived at *Enfield-Wash*.

Things being considered in this View, the Accommodation between *Mary Squires's* Account, and the Depositions of her Witnesses, comes out as consistent as can be reasonably expected, all the embarrassing Circumstances above-mentioned allowed for.

For further Satisfaction, please to see the *Postscript* annexed: In which this Reconciliation of the different Accounts of Time, given

M

by



by *Squires* and her Witnesses, is exhibited, it is presumed, with somewhat more Precision and Evidence ; and will appear, as it were, by Inspection.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Accounting for *Mary Squires's* Time from her coming to *Abbotsbury, Dorset*, to her Arrival at *Enfield-Wash, Middlesex*.

O. S. N. S.

Monday, Dec. 21. Jan. 1.

Left *Lytton*, and came to *Abbotsbury*, five Miles.

Monday, Dec. 28. 8.

Continued at *Abbotsbury*, as almost the whole Town can witness to.

Tuesday, Dec. 29. 9.

Left *Abbotsbury*, and came to *Portesham*, one Mile. Lay at *Frampton's*, the *Chequer*.

Wednesday, Dec. 30. 10.

Left *Portesham*, and came to *Ridgeway-hill* Foot, in the Parish of *Upwey*, four Miles. Lay at *Bewley's*, the *Sloop*.

Friday, Jan. 1. 12.

Lay in a Barn at *Chettle*.

Saturday, Jan. 2. 13.

Lay in a Barn at *Martin*, near *Pentridge*.

Sunday, Jan. 3. 14.

Lay at *Coom*, at *Widow Grevill's*, the *Lamb*.

Monday,

O. S. N. S.

Monday, Jan. 4. 15.

Came to *Stoptage*, (i. e. *Stockbridge*) which is eighteen Miles from *Coom*.

Tuesday, Jan. 5. 16.

Wednesday, Jan. 6. 17.

Not accounted for.

Thursday, Jan. 7. 18.

Came to *Basingstoke*, (drank at the second Alehouse) which is about nineteen Miles from *Stockbridge*.

Friday, Jan. 8. 19.

Lay at *Bagshot-beath* : *Bagshot* is nineteen Miles from *Basingstoke*.

Saturday, Jan. 9. 20.

Lay at *Old Brentford*, at Mrs. *Edwards's*; which is about nineteen Miles from *Bagshot*.

Sunday, Jan. 10. 21.

Lay at ditto.

Monday, Jan. 11. 22.

Lay at ditto.

Tuesday, Jan. 12. 23.

Wednesday, Jan. 13. 24.

On one of these Days, *Mary Squires* says she came to Mrs. *Wells's* at *Enfield-Wash*; which is about twenty Miles from *Brentford*, by the Way of *London*.

It is very observable, that *Mary Squires*, in the Account of her Journey from *Coom* (where she begins her Rout) to *Enfield-Wash*, always reckons by *the Days of the Week*, and not by *the Days of the Month*; unless in her first set-

ting out, when indeed she mentions *New-Year's* Day. And I very much suspect, that, though near fourscore Years old, she does not know the Number, Names, and Order, of the several Calendar Months of the Year. And, if her Acquaintance with Time is so very narrow and limited, no Wonder her Account respecting it should be found correspondent.

Besides Dr. Cox, Mr. *Solas Dodd*, an eminent Surgeon in *London*, has wrote in *Elizabeth Canning's* Favour, and endeavoured to show, upon physical Grounds, the Possibility of her subsisting for so long a Time on so small a Quantity of Food, and that she should at last have Strength enough to walk ten Miles to her Mother's House.

“ In order to account for the first, (says he) it is proper to consider the State of her Body at the Time she was carried off. She was a hearty Girl, sanguine, and of a florid Countenance; she had been accustomed throughout her Life to a Deficiency of Liquid Aliment, having for many Years scarce taken half a Pint of Liquid in twenty-four Hours; and consequently to a costive Habit of Body, and as if she had been predisposed for such a Deprivation of Food, she for five preceeding Months had had the common Female Benefit totally obstructed. This happened by Reason of her sleeping great Part of a Night, in a  
damp

damp Stone Kitchen ; which she did, fearing the Watchman might not call her up early enough to wash. All this premised, it will, to any Gentleman acquainted with the Animal Faculties, appear the more probable why she should be able to live upon so small a Quantity of Food. Let me not be misunderstood, I would not infer that a Person might thrive upon such a Pittance, or even retain the Flesh they had, upon such Dieting ; but that Life might be preserved thereby, is not to be doubted, especially when all Things are considered. The Quantity of Water, if proportioned to the Time she staid there, was little less than her usual Quantity of Liquid, which, if we reckon at half a Pint every twenty-four Hours, was but a little above a Gallon and a half ; and she declares, and by the Size of the Pitcher it appears it might hold about five Quarts : Then in a whole Month there is but four half Pints below her usual Quantity, therefore the Want of that Article could not be to her insupportable, however it might to those who are accustomed to drink a greater Quantity of Liquids. The Quantity of her Food was (allowing it to be about the Quantity of a Quartern Loaf) four Pounds and near a half in twenty-seven Days, that is about three Ounces in twenty-four Hours, a surprising Thing when thought upon ! Now, as she had no Stool, there could be no more Expence to be recruited, than what usually arises from



insensible Perspiration ; and to make a Calculation of what Waste of Body she could suffer, we must consider the usual Waste of a moderately healthful Body. The learned *Sanc-torius* hath observed the Night and Day to carry off in Stool and by Urine thirty Ounces, and by Perspiration fifty Ounces. There should some Allowance be made for the Difference of Heat in his Climate, and our's, which will lessen the Perspiration five out of fifty. Now he says likewise, that Fear and Sorrow close the Pores, and hinder the Freedom of Perspiration. Admit also, that Inaction which the Girl was forced to bear, and I believe the Quantity of perspirable Matter arising from her while confined, must be fixed at about as many forty Ounces, as she abided Days ; then there was sixty-seven Pounds eight Ounces to recruit, lost by Perspiration, for the Evacuation by Urine was very small, and that by Stool totally stopped. Reckoning therefore the Quantity of Bread and Water to weigh fourteen Pounds and a half, by subtracting that from the sixty-seven Pounds eight Ounces expended, there will be a Deficiency of fifty-three Pounds. Now it must be allowed that the additional Quantity of Blood arising from the aforementioned Obstruction, must be about forty-eight Ounces, or three Pounds ; none of which could be supposed to turn to Excrement, therefore admitting a Want of fifty-three Pounds, this must supply three thereof, and leave the  
total

total Waste to be fifty Pounds ; but the Matter of Perspiration being partly superfluous Matter, we may, without any Injury to Truth, fix her Loss of Substance at two Fifths, and say she was wasted twenty Pounds. This, to be sure, is a dreadful Quantity to lose in less than one Month ; but have we not seen almost twice as much Waste in a Consumption in the same Time ; and have not Fevers, Fluxes, and Acute Diseases, wasted Persons more remarkably ? And it is true, she felt the Effects of this Waste in a most sensible Manner ; her Body was emaciated, and a little longer Continuance of Starving (as it may very justly be called) would have certainly been mortal.

I am told by her (and I have the greatest Reason to believe her, having in the Navy been Witness of similar Cases) that she had, after a little Time, no Spur to Eating, but Faintness and Desire of Preservation, all the Calls of Hunger being in a Manner gone off. Let the immediate Cause of Hunger be what it will, that Cause, after a few Days, is taken away ; for, if it is caused by the Attrition of one Side of the Stomach to the other, a Continuance of that Attrition will blunt Sensation, and the exhausted Spirits will sooner demand Supply, than the depraved Stomach will intimate its Wants ; or, if we believe otherwise, that the chief Cause of Hunger is the Remainder of former Food fermented in the Stomach, yet there

there will, in Time, be a Want of that Ferment, if Food is denied to the first Cravings.

If then she had no Incitement of Appetite, it is to be thought she would not eat such unfavoury Morsels, but as her Strength decayed, to endeavour a Recruit. And for that petulant Objection of her just proportioning her Bread to the Time of her Duration, that is wholly a childish one ; for the Fact is not so. She did not proportion it ; she had consumed all on the *Friday* before the *Monday* she escaped, so that she had been totally without Food for three Days, had not that Pye been in her Pocket. and hence may be derived some Reason for her Escape.

Here we find a mere enduring of Life by but three Ounces of Bread and five of Water, upon an Average, each twenty-four Hours : We find a Reason for her Want of Appetite, and also are in some Measure enabled to ascertain the Waste of Flesh, above the Possibility of Recruit ; but yet not quite so great a Waste as to destroy an hearty Girl, whatever it might have done a Woman less so.

I must own I look upon that Obstruction as one chief Means of her Support, by affording her an additional Quantity of Blood and Spirits, however depraved they might be, and to this may be ascribed that she was not worse  
than

than she really was, (if worse on this Side Death could be.)

I think then the Probability of a Woman in her Circumstances subsisting with so small a Quantity of Food, is past Dispute, by shewing that, though it was almost destructive to her, and might be quite so to one weaker, and not in that high florid State, in which she was at her first Attack ; yet it was not contrary to Reason.

I would not have it supposed that every Person can live in such Circumstances as this Girl did ; it would be as unanswerable as to think the same Quantity of Food would satisfy different Bodies ; but that some Persons have lived on much less Food than she, is one Argument why she may be thought capable of doing it when, as I say, under such particular Circumstances, but the Word *living* is almost improper, since she continually wasted and was barely alive ; and if some would have perished upon such Food, it must have been those of a laxer Habit of Body than the Person under Consideration.

I shall observe, that what little Food she had was Bread, from three Ounces of which more Nourishment may be derived than from six Ounces of many other Foods ; as to its being hard, that happened to be an Advantage to her



her, since however unsavory it might be to the Taste, or disagreeable to get down, yet it was the less liable to go off by Stool, since stale Bread is of a binding Nature, because it soaks up the abounding Moisture of the Stomach, and gives a Consistency to the Juices, as to render them the less liable to Evacuation. The Truth of this may be seen in this Girl's having no Stool ; and likewise in Sailors, who are generally costive, which Costiveness ought not to be attributed so much to the Salt Provisions as to the Dryness of their Biscuit.

I have said that the Bread was more nutritive than twice its Quantity of many other Foods ; and I repeat it, for in all Foods there are two Parts, nutritive and excrementitious ; if in the Quantity of ten Pounds of one Kind there are but five Ounces of Nourishment, and in six Ounces of another Kind, but one Ounce of excrementitious Parts, the latter will fully counter-balance the former ; and I am certain, if she had had the same Quantity a Day of any one Kind of Meat, as she had of Bread, there would have been small Hopes of her Life.

When all the above is considered, I doubt not but many of my Readers will say with me, it is not only within the Pounds of Possibility, but Probability and Reason, that she could subsist and endure Life on that Quantity of Bread and Water she relates she had.

I now

I now come to assign natural Reasons for her Ability to escape and return Home ; in which, if I prove that she might have done so, let others determine whether she did, for myself it sufficeth I believe, firmly believe she did.

It is surprizing that any Person, who knows what Effect the Passions of the Mind can have upon the Body, and what surprizing Strength is frequently the Consequence of Anger, Terror, or Despair, can doubt the Truth of this. Are there not Instances of Things done, even when Nature might have been thought exhausted, by making as it were one great Effort, and collecting all the dissipating Spirits to give sufficient Strength for one strong Conflict? And here may be given a good Reason why she escaped then, and why she attempted it not before. What Mr. *Fielding* says on that Head, that we very often overlook the Means of Safety, which when found appear very slight, and we may wonder that it could be overlooked, is very true, and highly agreeable both to Reason and Experience; but to that may be added this : Fear is a Passion which, till it rises to Despair, renders the Body cold, jellies the Blood, and numbs the vital Faculties. While the Mind is oppressed with that Passion, the least Threat, the smallest Menace, is of surprizing Force. It must be granted also, that supposing a Girl robbed, knocked down,  
carried

carried off, used with Threats, and confined, she must, except she had a greater Mastery of Mind than could be supposed to fall to her Share, be sunk in Fear. As that Passion must be predominant, it is contrary to Reason to think the last Word, and that Word one of Terror, would not make a vast Impression upon an already terrified Mind. Certainly then, where is the Difficulty to account for her not endeavouring her Escape while that Fear possessed her Mind? It is to no Purpose to say that her Prison was not of sufficient Force to hold her, had she been determined to try a Passage out; for place but a Man (much less a weak Girl) in a Room from whence twenty Outlets may be made, and at his being thrust there, terrify him with Threats of Murder and Death, should he attempt to pass any of those Outlets, the Fear of Death would so possess his Mind, the Ways would be open in vain, and he would rather sit down in Hope of being some Time relieved by his Imprisoners, than by an Attempt which their Cruelty might render fatal, seem to throw away his Life. But though the Passion of Fear may last a long Time, it cannot ever, but must arise to Extremes, and give Place to Despair in the long Run, more especially when all Means of Life is taken away. Hence arises a sufficient Reason why she then used her Endeavours for Life. That Fear of Death is implanted in us for very strong Purposes; and it is no Paradox to say  
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in this Case, the Fear of Death prevailed over the Fear of Death ; that is, when all the slender Support of Life was at an End, her Continuance there must be her Death : This raised her Fear to Despair ; and she, who while any small Subsistence remained, sat fearfully inactive, when that was gone grown desperate, attempted and compleated her Escape. When Death must be her Portion in the abiding there, it is rational to think she would risque that Death in escaping, which she was morally certain must attend her there. What then more likely that her Escape should follow the total Consumption of her Food ? Let not therefore it be said, she proportioned her Bread to her Stay : She did not ; it ended on the *Friday* ; on the *Sunday* the Pye was her Food, and Nature now grown more faint, grew more desperate : Fear kept in no Bounds, she made one Effort, it succeeded. When she was out, as great Passions are never long at their Extremities, her Despair subsided, and its Parent *Fear* returned ; that *Fear* added Wings to her Flight, and supported her under its Fatigues ; that *Fear* hindered her going into any House upon the Road, lest her Persecutors might be there ; that *Fear* made her enquire her Way of Persons, lest she should go wrong, (which Persons have taken their Oaths they met her,) and that *Fear* keeping her Spirits in the Ferment Despair had raised, was the Reason of her Strength. But mark the necessary Effects ; when she arrived



rived in Safety, that Ferment having wrought up her Strength to its highest Pitch, a Calm succeeded, and over-wearied Nature sunk to a Weakness which continued long.

That *Fear* turning to Despair should, for Life, brave Death, hath been seen in several Armies, where a Retreat being cut off, rendered the Men desperate, and thereby gained them not only Life but Victory.

I therefore think, from Reason and Experience, that *Elizabeth Canning* might make her Escape, and by the Agitation of her Mind, rouse sufficient Strength for her Return Home.

Mr. *Dodd* then shows that she had all such Complaints and Symptoms when she returned Home to her Mother, as long Fasting, according to Physical Maxims, would have occasioned.

Mr. *Dodd* concludes with giving an Account in what Manner he examined her, in Regard to her fasting so long; which was, indeed, such as almost puts it beyond Doubt that she was sincere, and told the Truth as to this Part of her Story; for he says that he examined her with many ensnaring Questions, such as telling her with great Seriousness, That if she had fasted so long, she must needs be affected in such and such Manner, which in Reality could  
not

not be caused by Fasting: To all which enflaming Assertions, the Girl answered with the greatest Simplicity of Truth, *No, she was not affected in that Manner*; inſomuch that I am morally certain (ſays Mr. *Dodd*) that ſhe ſpoke the very Truth, or that ſhe framed her Answers from a thorough Knowledge of the various Symptoms of not only Famine, but of many other Diſeaſes, the Signs of which were the Subjects of my Interrogations; and I believe the laſt Suppoſition can be but a vaſt Improbability.

Having thus given impartially what happened, and what has been ſaid on both Sides, from the Tryal of the Gypſy in *February*, 1753, we come now to the laſt Scene of this *myſterious Affair*, in which *Elizabeth Canning* ſtands indicted for *Wilful and Corrupt Perjury*, for falſely ſwearing againſt the Gypſy.

In the *April* Sessions at the *Old Bailey*, 1753, two Indictments for Perjury, one againſt *Canning*, and another againſt the *Abbotsbury* Witneſſes, who appeared in Behalf of *Mary Squires* on her Tryal, were preferred to the Grand Jury; who, on examining the Witneſſes on both Sides, finding a direct Contradiſtion between them, threw out both the Bills, to prevent the Perjuries on one Side or the other, that the Tryal of theſe Cauſes would occaſion in Court.

But

But the Parties against *Canning* did not rest here, but again preferred an Indictment against her at the *June* Sessions following ; at which Time an Indictment was preferred the second Time against the *Abbotsbury* Witnesses ; both which Indictments were found by the Grand Jury the 8th of *June* last. In Consequence of this, the *Abbotsbury* Witnesses appeared on their Tryal at the *Old Bailey* ; but by the Neglect or Oversight of those who prosecuted them, not a single Witness was subpæna'd against them, nor any Council fee'd to attend the Tryal ; but instead thereof, on the Day the Tryal was to have come on, Certificates were delivered to remove the Indictments into the Court of King's Bench, but under such Circumstances, that the Court at the *Old Bailey* ordered the Persons indicted to the Bar ; and there being no Person then to appear against them, they were discharged.

In the mean Time, the Friends of *Elizabeth Canning*, desirous of removing the Tryal of the Cause into the Court of King's Bench, and fully determined at least that her Tryal should not come on at the *Old Bailey*, till the Lord Mayor, who had espoused the Cause of the Gypsy, was out of his Office, (because during his Mayoralty the Lord Mayor presides in the Court at the *Old Bailey*,) they secreted her so privately, that the Warrant issued against  
her

her upon the Indictment for Perjury, could not be served on her. But her Prosecutor pursuing her to the Commencement of an Outlawry, her Friends gave Notice that they would surrender her up to Tryal at the Sessions, which began in *April* last at the *Old Bailey*. She accordingly appeared in Court on the first Day of the Sessions, and gave Bail for her future Appearance; and *Monday* the 29th of *April* was the Day fixed for the Commencement of the Tryal.

As this Event had long engaged the Attention of the Publick, the Court was, early on the Day, crouded to an uncommon Degree, and perhaps Curiosity was never more strongly expressed on any Occasion in the Memory of Man. The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Mr. Baron *Legge*, Mr. Baron *Clive*, and others of his Majesty's Justices for the City of *London* and County of *Middlesex*, together with the Recorder of the City of *London*, were on the Bench. The Council for the Prosecution were Mr. *Davy*, Mr. *Willes*, and Mr. *Gascoyne*; for the Prisoner, Mr. *Moreton*, Mr. *Naires*, and Mr. *Williams*.

*Elizabeth Canning* was brought into Court about Nine o'Clock: She was dressed in a clean Linnen Gown, and had a black Bonnet on: Her Behaviour appeared quite modest, and she did not seem any-ways terrified or dis-

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composed:



composed : Her Stature is short, and her Complexion fresh. But it is unnecessary to say more of her Person, as the Picture of her we shall annex at the Conclusion of this Account, bears a near Resemblance of her. The Court proceeding to Business, she was indicted for that she, not having the Fear of GOD before her Eyes, did wickedly endeavour, by Wilful and Corrupt Perjury, to take away the Life of one of his Majesty's Subjects, (contrary to the Laws of this Kingdom, and his Majesty's Crown and Dignity,) in falsely swearing a Robbery against *Mary Squires* a Gypfy. To which Indictment the Prisoner pleaded *Not Guilty*, and put herself upon her Tryal. The Jury being then called over, about sixteen of them were challenged by the Prosecutor's Council, and only two by the Prisoner.

The Gypfy was then brought into Court in an armed Chair by two or three Men, and appeared very sick and faint, her Head likewise shaking very much : She was dressed in a Stuff Gown, having a white Whittle over her Shoulders, a white Napkin pinn'd over her Head, and a black Bonnet on : She is about eighty Years of Age : Her Complexion (either natural or stained) is very swarthy, as Gypsies always are. The most distinguishing Features of her Countenance, are a very wide Mouth and a large Nose ; but the Picture we shall give of her, will better express her Countenance.

upon

Upon Account of the great Concourse of People in the Court, and the Faintness of the Gypsy, she was carried several Times into an adjoining Room, to receive the Benefit of fresh Air, and was brought into Court occasionally as her Presence was necessary: Her Son *George* and her Daughter *Lucy*, attended her all the Time. The Prisoner *Canning* had likewise Liberty given her to sit down.

The Indictment was opened by the Council, that *Elizabeth Canning* did falsely, wickedly, and corruptly swear, that she was carried by two Men on the first of *January*, 1753, about Nine o'Clock, from *Moorfields*, and brought into the House of Mother *Wells* at *Enfield-Wash*, about Four o'Clock on the Morning of the second of *January*; that she was there assaulted and robbed by one *Mary Squires* a Gypsy, and afterwards confined there for the Space of twenty-eight Days, &c. going thro' the whole of her Story as we have already given it.\* After which he added, that they on their Side affirmed that the said *Mary Squires* was at *Abbotsbury* on the said second of *January*, that *Elizabeth Canning* was not in that Room, nor drank the Water out of the Pitcher, nor took the old Gown out of the Grate, for that there was no Grate there, and that therefore she had falsely, voluntarily, and corruptly sworn.

Another

\* See her Deposition, Page 23.

Another Council observed, that it was the most wilful, corrupt, and impudent Perjury, ever committed; that he could wish for the Sake of the present Case, that the Law allowed of a more grievous Punishment than could be inflicted as it now stands: To destroy the Life of a Person for any Motive of Gain, was a most inhuman and wicked an Offence; and that that was her Motive would appear plain: The Design was to raise Contributions from the Publick: The Advertisements and Papers handed about to raise Compassion, &c. all show'd this; that those Papers were universally known to have a great Effect, and that those who endeavoured to raise such Prejudices, would be guilty of Perjury, but for Fear; that he did not know but that even the very Countenance of the Gypsy, which struck Horror into the Beholder, contributed to prejudice the Jury against her; that he did not say this to raise Prejudices on the other Side, for that he was persuaded there was such a Jury now, as would examine every Thing thoroughly, and bring in their Verdict accordingly, for they had Proofs that would command the Consent, and convince every dispassionate Man, that she was never robbed by *Mary Squires*, nor ever at *Enfield Wash*; that the Proof of one Perjury would be sufficient, but that he hoped to prove them all. He then began to recapitulate her whole Story; and observing that she had sworn that two Men had seized her at *Bedlam Wall* about half an Hour after

after Nine at Night, searched her Pockets, stripped off her Gown, &c. and that no Body passed by all this Time, "What, (says he) no one Passenger passing by so publick a Place, in such a Space of Time! What, no Body going to see *Bedlam*, where such Numbers resort daily! Surely this is very strange." Then going on with the rest of her Story, he concluded, That he would appeal to all Men whether there was not a Complication of Improbabilities, and the whole an absurd, ridiculous, stupid Thing; for what could be the Design of the Men, if they intended robbing her, to carry her by so many Houses, through so many Streets, Turnpikes, &c. when they might as well have robbed her of her Stays, as they did of every Thing else, in the Place where they first stopped her? That to act as she swore they did, was to put themselves in the utmost Danger for no Purpose; for they could hardly think it possible that they should carry her ten Miles and a half through such a frequented Road as that to *Enfield-Wash*, without being met and stopped. That he did not believe there was any Man, however wicked and abandoned, that would do Mischief merely for the Sake of doing it, without any Motive of Profit or Pleasure. He then told the Jury, that he hoped they had seen the House of Mother *Wells*; if so, he would spare himself a great deal of Trouble, for it was impossible for any Man who had seen the Room, to think she had been



been confined there so long, when she might have escaped from it in the first half Hour; and that it was as improbable, that after remaining so long there as she had said, and being so emaciated by her scanty Diet, that she should travel so far as ten Miles and a half, without stopping; that she should pass by so many magnificent Houses as were on the Road, (which she could not possibly suspect as Confederates of Mother *Wells*) without going in to tell her Story, and get some Relief and Assistance: However, he acknowledged that it must be owned it was possible; but then it was so improbable, as amounted to almost the same Thing; for if any Man should say that he had flown round the whole Atmosphere without once fetching Breath, though one hundred Witnesses were to affirm it, yet still we should not believe it, as the Marks of Improbability would be so strong, that our Reason could not consent to it. But he would lay open such a Chain of Evidence, as would wholly prove that her whole Story was false; therefore he would not plead much on the Improbabilities of it: That he would prove that *Mary Squires* was one hundred and thirty Miles off on the second of *January*; and then pointing to *Mary Squires*, he observed, That she could not be mistaken for any other Thing that GOD ever made; that they would account by different Witnesses for *Mary Squires* from being at *South Parrot* in *Dorsetshire* on  
the

the 29th of *December*, 1752, to her Arrival at the House of Mother *Wells* at *Enfield-Wash* on the 22d or 23d of *January*, 1753. That she was at *Abbotsbury* from the first to the ninth of *January*, 1753, and then she went to *Portesham*; on the eleventh she was crossing the Water at *Dorchester*, the thirteenth at *Martin*, the fourteenth between *Martin* and *Coom*, on the Road from thence to *Basingstoke* on the sixteenth and seventeenth, and at *Basingstoke* on the eighteenth; that there was a Circumstance happened there, which would prove their being there at that Time beyond Doubt; for that he must take Notice, that though the Gyply was so ugly and deformed a Creature, she had a very beautiful Daughter, who being courted by one *William Clarke*, of *Abbotsbury*, she had at *Basingstoke* (not being able to write herself) got the Landlady where they stopped to write a Letter for her to her Sweetheart, which was in Substance as follows:

“ This with my kind Love to you, and all  
 “ the Family, hoping you are all well: I am  
 “ very uneasy at your troublesome Journey,  
 “ but hope to hear soon of your being well;  
 “ so no more at present, from

*Your humble Servant,*

LUCY SQUIRES.

“ My Mother and Brother shall be glad to  
 “ hear from you at *Brentford*.”

This

This Letter was directed for *William Clarke*, to be left at the Post-Office in *Dorchester*, and came to the Post-Office in *London*, and had the *London* Post Mark of the 19th of *January*; from whence it went in the Course of the Post to the Post-Office in *Dorchester*, where being delivered to a wrong Mr. *Clarke* near *Dorchester*, it was returned into the Office again, where it had lain for some Months. By all this it appeared, he said, that the Gypsy could not be at *Enfield-Wash* till the 22d or 23d of *January*; therefore the Prisoner was guilty of Wilful and Corrupt Perjury, in persisting so long in charging the Gypsy with robbing her, after so many Witnesses had sworn to her being elsewhere. They then went on to observe the Contradictions in her several Informations; the chief of which were, that in the first Information which she had sworn to before the sitting Alderman, it was put down, that she had been confined in a little, dark, square Room, (tho' she said there were two Windows, one glazed, the other partly boarded, partly glazed,) whereas the Room itself, instead of being small, square, and dark, measured thirty Feet, by nine broad, and the Casement of the Window was so large, that a fat Man might have got out of it, and therefore the Room must be light; and it was so low, that a Child might have leaped out of it to the Ground. In her first Information it was said that she lay upon nothing but bare Boards,

Boards, whereas there was half a Load of Hay \* in the Room : That she at first deposed, that her Water failed her on the *Friday* before her Escape on the *Monday* ; but, on the Tryal of *Mary Squires*, she swore that she drank the last of her Water about half an Hour before she made her Escape : That in her first Information she had said, there was only an old Stool or two, an Iron Grate, an old Table, and an old Picture over the Chimney ; whereas, instead of a Grate, the Floor of the Chimney was found covered with Cobwebs, that seemed the Work of many Generations of Spiders ; three Saddles were found in the Room, fasten'd to the Walls with the Webs of the same Insects ; and a large Nest of Drawers was also found there, with a Bed made of Straw ; that there was no Picture over the Chimney, nothing but an old Casement, which was covered with Dirt and Cobwebs. It was likewise observed, that the Defendant kept out of the Way of Tryal, and that *Flight* was in the Eye of the Law considered as a Presumption of Guilt.

One of the Council was pleased to observe,  
That he was sorry to see a Girl, not nineteen  
O Years

\* She had before given an Account, when she first came Home, of there being Hay in the Room, as was sworn in the Court at the Tryal by Mrs. *Mires* ; but she never once lay upon it, as she said, because it came into her Head that there was a murdered Man under it.



Years of Age, guilty of such a Crime; but when he considered the Circumstances, his Compassion was turned into Indignation: That she had gone through four Examinations; upon the last they founded the Charge of Perjury, though there was a great Difference between each of them.

It was said by another Council, That her whole Story was full of such Absurdities, as that it was a *Felo-de-se*. Many more Things were said, about who told her there was Hay in the Room, who carried the black Pitcher up into the Room, &c. But as these Things did not appear on the Tryal, it is unnecessary to take Notice of them; as likewise of what was said about her Shift being free from the usual Stains, because we have already taken Notice of it. See Pages 108 and 109.

We shall now proceed to the Witnesses called. Before which Mr. Gurney, who had minuted down the Gypsy's Tryal, was called, and read the Substance of it, according to what we have already given, (*See Page 36, &c.*) The Recorder, whilst he was doing this, desired he would mention what Style he went by; to which he answered, *The New*; and it was agreed that all the Witnesses did and should reckon by that Style.

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The first Witness was *Esther Hopkins*, living at *South Perrot*, in *Dorsetshire*; who deposed, That she saw the Gypsy, her Son and Daughter, (who were all three in the Court, that each Witness might see them as they came to give Evidence,) at her House on the 29th of *December*, 1752; that she believed the Gypsy to be the Woman; the Son she remembered, but could not recollect the Daughter: She said she knew the Gypsy only by lying there that Night; that they went away just as it was light the next Day: The Son had a Bag, which he carried along with him; that she asked what they sold; they replied, *Hardware*: That she knew the particular Day, because two Gentlemen were at her House at the same Time, who went away without paying their Reckoning, which she set down in her Book by the Almanack.

*Alice Farnham* was then called, who lives at *Vineyard's Gap*, one Mile from *South Perrot*, ten from *Abbotsbury*; who swore that she saw them there on a *Saturday*, about Eight or Nine o'Clock, a little after *New Christmas*, 1752; knew her to be the same, because she then compared her to a Picture of *Mother Skıpton*; that they left her House that Morning, and went towards *Litton*, promising to come and see her again at *Old Christmas*, and she believed the old Woman, with her Son, who were then in Court, to be the same; that she met them coming into *South Perrot* on the

O 2

*Friday,*

*Friday*, and her Mother (when she told her) asked if she was not frightened at them : She knew it to be about *New Christmas*, because she asked her Mother the same Day to go to *Crewkerne* Market, and that she told her *Monday* would be Time enough to buy Things for *Old Christmas* ; that the Daughter was dressed in a white Holland Gown, and red Cloak ; that she did not enquire their Business, and has never seen them since.

*George Squires*, the Gypfy's Son, being to be examined next, the Defendant's Council made an Objection against *Lucy* the Daughter being in Court during the Time, because they observed that they two were very material Evidences, and must know the whole Truth of the Matter, and that a great deal depended upon the Agreement of their Evidence with each other, as they had travelled together all the while, and therefore desired that they might be examined apart ; upon which *Lucy* was ordered to withdraw.

*George Squires* being sworn, was asked what Time he was with his Mother and Sister *Lucy* at *South Perrot*, in *Dorsetshire* ; he answered, on the 29th Day of *December*, 1752 ; that they put up at the *Red Lyon* there, and came from *Yeovil* that Day ; that he had travelled with his Mother, setting out from *Newington Butts* in *Surrey*, and that from *South Perrot* they went to *Vineyard's Gap*, and from thence to *Litton* on the *Saturday* ; *Sunday* Morning he went to *Abbotbury*,

*Abbotsbury*, five Miles distant, leaving his Mother and Sister at *Litton*; that this was the 31st of *December*; that he lay at *Abbotsbury* that Night, along with Mr. *Clarke*; that on *Monday* the first of *January* he and *Clarke* set out for *Litton*, to meet his Mother and Sister; that when they came there, he found his Mother was gone to *Abbotsbury* to see for him; however, she came back Time enough to dine all together at *Litton*; that after Dinner, about Four o'Clock, or more, they set out for *Abbotsbury*, and got there a little after it was dark; that they danced at the Sign of the *Ship* the same Night; Mr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Band*, Mr. *Gibbons*, and Mr. *Clarke*, were there, with many others; *George Squires* danced with *Gibbons's* Sister, *Clarke* danced with *Lucy*; one *Wake*, an Exciseman, wanted to borrow a Great Coat of him; that they continued at *Abbotsbury* till *Tuesday* the 9th, when they set out towards Night for *Portesham*, about a Mile, accompanied by *Clarke*; that they lay at *Portesham*, and went next Day to *Rdgeway-Hill* Foot, which was five or six Miles, and lay there at the *Ship*, where they left three Yards and a Quarter of Nankeen for the Reckoning, not having Money enough to spare, and set out at Eight or Nine in the Morning; came to *Dorchester*, where the Waters were out; a Miller carried over his Sister behind him on Horseback, and he waded and carried his Mother over, because the Miller was going on Business, and



could not return back again to fetch his Mother ; that they travelled all Night, because they heard his Sister *Mary Squires* was ill in *London* ; that they lay in a Barn at *Chettle* on the *Friday*; in a Barn at *Martin* on the *Saturday*, and came to *Coom* and lay at the *Lamb* on *Sunday* ; he could not recollect where they went next, nor what Day they came to *Basingstoke*, which is about thirty-seven Miles from *Coom*, but said they stopped at the *Spread Eagle* there, and the Woman of the House wrote a Letter for his Sister *Lucy* to Mr. *Clarke* of *Abbotsbury* ; they lay that Night at an Alehouse a Mile and half beyond *Basingstoke*, nearer to *London* ; that they lay at the *Greyhound* in *Brentford* (which is nineteen Miles from *Bagshot*) on the *Saturday* ; that on *Sunday* he left his Mother and Sister there, and went to *London* for his Sister *Mary*, who returned to *Brentford* with him ; that they came on the *Tuesday* to the *Seven Sisters* at *Tottenham*, and the next Day to Mother *Wells's*, about twenty Miles from *Brentford*, whom they had never seen before, but was recommended there by one they had enquired of for Lodgings ; that he left his Mother and Sister there a few Days after, (but could not recollect the Day) to receive 7 *l.* 15 *s.* Being asked to describe Mother *Wells's* House, particularly the Chambers, he said, that turning short round on the Right Hand was a large Room with one Bed, wherein his Mother and Sister lay, which was over the Parlour ;

Parlour; that he lay in a Room facing the Stairs; Mother *Wells*, her Daughter, and *Virtue Hall*, in a Room on the Left Hand, and *Fortune Natus*, with his Wife, lay in a Room that went up a few Steps from the Kitchen, on a Bed made of Hay; that they did not board at Mother *Wells*'s, but bought Victuals at a Shop opposite to her House; that he had never seen *Elizabeth Canning* till the Day they were taken up.

As this Evidence was supposed to be a very principal one, as he had sworn to his being with his Mother the Gypsy almost constantly for four Months together, particularly during all the Time of the Girl's Confinement, his Examination was the more particular, and took up a great deal of Time. When he had given the above Account, the Council for the Girl cross-examined him, and he answered very particularly to all the Questions put to him, told the Time they came to and left such and such Houses on their Journey from *South Perrot* to *London*, in the Month of *January*, 1753, told all the Signs, several of the Persons Names, and even recollected that they had two Fowls for Dinner at *Litton*, when *Clarke* was with them, who they were bought of, and that they were both boiled: And it being observed that perhaps this was an extraordinary Dinner, something more than usual, which made him remember it, he replied, *No, they had very often Fowls for Dinner.* Upon this the Council  
for

for the Defendant observed, that Mr. *Squires* had been represented as a Person of a weak Capacity, and shallow Memory ; but that really he thought he gave Proofs of a very good one, and that he believed he might venture to say, not any Man in Court could give a more regular and circumstantial Account of any Journey, some Time after it had been performed : And as he gave so exact an Account of Things, he desired he would inform the Court from what Place of any Note, any Time before the 29th of *December*, 1752, he set out in order to make the West Country Journey into *Dorsetshire*. He made here a great Hesitation, and was several Minutes before he seem'd to understand the Question : But on its being put to him several Ways by the Recorder and the Judges, as well as the Council, he at length said, He set out from *Newington Butts* a few Weeks before *Michaelmas*, in the Harvest Time : This gave a Space of Time of about four Months for travelling the Country, in order to get to *South Perrot* by the 29th of *December*. Several other Questions were then put to him ; which, with his Answers, were nearly as follows :

Q. Which Way did you set out for *Newington-Butts*, in order to make this West-Country Journey ? A. I went down into *Kent*. To what Part of *Kent* ? I don't remember the Name of the Place. What did you go into *Kent* about ? To meet my Mother and Sister.

Sister. In what Part of *Kent* were they? I don't know the Name of the Place. How did you find them out? They were travelling the Country. What Part of the Country? In the Wilds of *Kent*. What Places did you travel through in your Journey to the Wilds of *Kent*? I don't know the Names of any Places; pray excuse me, Sir, I did not expect to be asked these Questions. *No, I believe you did not; but I have many more such Questions to ask you.* Q. Well, did you find your Mother and Sister? Yes. And you don't know the Name of any Place in that Country? No, I can't remember any. Where did you go next? We went into *Sussex*. What Part of *Sussex*? I don't remember. Don't you know any Places in *Sussex* neither? Yes I know *Hastings*, and *Rye*, and *Lewes*. Were you at either of these Places? Yes, we were at *Lewes*. How long did you stay there? I don't remember how long. What Places did you lie at in your Journey to *Lewes*? I don't know the Names of the Places. What Houses did you drink at, and what were their Signs? I don't remember the Signs of any House; pray excuse me, Sir. No, I can't excuse you, I must ask you some more Questions; where did you go to from *Lewes*? We went to *Salisbury*. What Towns or Villages did you travel through in your Way to *Salisbury*? I don't remember any. What no Names at all, of any Place or Sign, in all this long Journey to *Salisbury*; you have been very exact in your  
Description



Description of Places and Signs in your Journey, *from South-Perrot to Enfield Wash*, but know nothing of your Journey *to* that Place: Well, where did you go next from *Salisbury*? We went to *Shaftesbury*. You are got into your Knowledge now to be sure; what Towns pray did you go through from *Salisbury* to *Shaftesbury*? I don't remember the Names of any. Where did you go from *Shaftesbury*? We went to a Place called *Mear*. What House did you drink or lie at in this Town? We did not go directly into the Town but only partly by it. Do you know no Sign of any House here, or in any other Part of your Journey? I should be obliged to you, Mr. *Squires*, if you would name to me some Sign or other, a Fox, or a Goose, or a Pair of Compasses, or whatever you please: I don't remember any. Where did you lie o'Nights, in Barns or at Public-houses? Sometimes in Barns and sometimes at Houses. And don't you know whose Barns they were, nor in what Places, nor the Signs of any of the Houses? No, I don't remember any. Can you Gypsies travel up and down the Country without knowing what Places you go through? We travel through many Places without knowing them. Perhaps you may, but you can't forget all; you have mentioned no one Place yet, but *Newington-Butts*, *Lewes*, *Salisbury*, *Shaftesbury* and this *Mear*; I should be glad you would be so kind to name some Place or other to me? Pray excuse

excuse me, Sir, I did not expect to be asked these Questions. What Place did you go to next? We went to *Soub-Perrot*. So you will not tell me any Place in all this Journey; pray inform me now, Mr. *Squires*, what it was that induced you, with your old Mother and Sister, to make this long Journey from *Abbotsbury* to *Enfield-Wash*? I heard a Sister of mine was very ill in *London*. That was very kind of you; and pray, Sir, how did you hear she was ill? I had a Letter from her. Did you leave a Direction with her, where she should write to you? No, I can't say I left any Direction. How did she know where to send a Letter to you? She knew what Part of the Country we were travelling. Well, and where did this Letter find you? I don't justly remember the Name of the Place. Where was it directed to? I don't remember. Where is the Letter? I have not got it; I have lost it. Did this Letter come by the Post? Yes, I believe it came by the Post. To what Post-Town? I don't know. Was it directed for you at any Friend's House at *Abbotsbury*? No. So you know nothing at all how you came by this Letter? No, I don't remember. -----When you set out on this Journey from *Newington-Butts*, had you any Goods with you? Yes, I had a small Bundle of Goods. Of what Value? About twenty Pounds. Did you sell them all in your Journey? Yes, all but a Piece or two of Check and some Waistcoats. Where did you sell them? I don't remember any of the  
 the

the Places. You said in the first setting out on your Journey to *London*, that you pawned a Piece of *Nankeen* for 3s. 6d. for a Dinner of Beef-stakes at ----- how came you to be so short of Money, when you had sold almost all your Goods, as you say; what did you do with your Money? I paid some Debts I owed with some of it, and remitted the rest to *London*. Where did you pay these Debts, and to whom? I don't remember. Who did you remit the Money to in *London*? To one Mr. *Norman*. Where is Mr. *Norman*, is he here in Court? No, Sir, he is dead. That's right; well, since Mr. *Norman* is dead, you can tell, to be sure, where you was when you remitted this Money, and in what Manner you did it? No, I don't remember.

With these, and the like Interrogations and Answers, about two Hours were spent; and when his Examination was over, it was expected that his Sister, *Lucy Squires*, would have been called by the Council for the Prosecution; but she was not, though the Council for the Defendant urged her being examined.

Mr. *Willis* was next called; but as he could prove only that he accompanied *Squires*, six Months afterwards, to the Places where he said he had called, his Evidence was waved.

*John Fry*, of *Litton*, was then called: He deposed, he saw the Gypsy, and her Son and Daughter, the 30th of *December*, 1752, at a Publick-House kept by *John Hawkins*; they were

were sitting by the Fire, and that he was sure it was the same, as he had known the Gypsy for three Years back.

*Francis Gladman*, of *Litton*, Gardener, deposed, he saw her the first of *January*, 1753, at *Hawkins's*, (he shav'd *George* the 'Saturday before ;) know it to be that Day, because he then rung in the New Year, and had never seen the Gypsy before.

*John Angel*, of *Litton*, deposed, he saw her at *Hawkins's* there about the same Time, and asked whether she could tell Fortunes, or talk *Spanish* and *Dutch*.

*James Evelyn*, Stay-maker, of the same Place, deposed, he saw her at *Hawkins's* the 31st of *December*, 1752 ; on *Monday* the first of *January*, 1753, as he came from ringing, he stopped at *Hawkins's* about two Hours, where he saw the Gypsy, was called away to go a Fox-hunting, did not see the Daughter there on *Monday*, nor *George* at all ; did not see *Clarke* there, nor had any Reasons to think any of them were there about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, when he returned from Hunting ; had never seen the Gypsy before, but has several Times since. Being asked if he thought the Gypsy could walk from *Litton* to *Abbotsbury* and back again, which is about ten Miles, from Ten o'Clock in the Morning to about Two in the Afternoon, said, he believed she might.

*John*



*John Hawkins*, Publican, at *Litton*, deposed, the Gypsy came into his House on *Saturday* the 30th of *December*, 1752 ; confirmed her Son's going to *Abbotsbury*, and returning on *Monday*, to a Dinner of a Couple of Fowls ; imagined the Gypsy went only into the Fields to look for her Son, as she was not absent long ; remembers the particular Day, because it was the first Time he kindled a Fire in a new Room. Upon his Cross-Examination he said, that he thinks the Gypsy was not absent above an Hour out of his House on the *Monday*, till they all set out together for *Abbotsbury*.

*William Clarke*, of *Abbotsbury*, deposed, that *George Squires* was there at the *Ship* on *Sunday* the 31st of *December*, 1752 ; that he enquired after *Lucy*, and was informed that she was at *Litton* ; that he and *George* set out for that Place on the *Monday*, and got there about Three or Four o'Clock in the Afternoon ; did not dine there, but set out again very soon. Being asked several Times whether he dined there, he said he did not : What, did you not eat any Thing there ? no Fowl, or any Thing else ? He at last said, they had a Bit of Fowl, but it could not be called a Dinner or Supper ; that he went with the Gypsy, and her Son and Daughter, to *Abbotsbury* ; that he danced with them at the *Ship*, and that *Lucy* was his Partner, but he could not remember who *George Squires* danced with ; that they staid there from the first to the ninth, and that he went with them

them on the Evening of the ninth to *Portesham*, where they lay ; that the next Day he went with them to *Ridgeway-Hill* Foot, four Miles, where he supped with them at *Bewley's*, the Sign of the *Sloop*, and then returned to *Abbotsbury* ; remembered a dead Horse lay in the Road at *Ridgeway*.

*John Gibbons*, of the *Ship* at *Abbotsbury*, gave an Account that the Gypsy, with her Son and Daughter, came into his House on *Monday* the first of *January*, 1753, just in the Dusk ; confirmed *George's* Evidence about the Dancing, and that they staid at his House from the first to the ninth ; heard the Exciseman *Wake* borrow *George's* Great Coat ; that he had known the Gypsy three Years before. Upon his Cross-Examination, he was asked why he did not give an Account of the Dancing upon the Gypsy's Tryal, it being so particular a Thing, and likewise of the Exciseman : He answered, Because he was not asked.

*George Clements*, of *Abbotsbury*, deposed, he saw them there the first of *January*, 1753, dined with them the next *Sunday*, saw them set out on *Tuesday* with *Clarke*, had seen the Gypsy about sixteen Times before, her Son about three Times.

*Melchisedeck Arnold* deposed, he saw them at the *Ship* in *Abbotsbury* on *Monday* the first of *January*, 1753, play'd on the Violin to their Dancing, confirmed the former Evidence on this Head, saw them *Monday* the 8th of *January*,

ary, did not know them before that Time. He was asked what was the Reason of their long Stay there ; he said he could not tell.

*John Ford*, a Carpenter, of *Abbotsbury*, saw them there the first of *January*, 1753, when he said he drank with the Son, shook Hands with the Mother, and kissed the Daughter ; that he sold them Bread, and saw them every Day till the 9th ; said that they came into *Abbotsbury* some Time in the Afternoon, was sure it was not more than Three o'Clock ; that it was quite light, and that he saw them at a considerable Distance coming up the Street towards his House. Upon which the Council for the Prosecution asked him how many Pots he had drank that Day, that he believed he was drunk, or to that Effect ; to which he replied, that he was very sober, that what he had said was all very true, that he could not help his being angry, but what he had said was Matter of Fact, and as true as they were all then in that Place, or something to that Effect, affirming it with many very strong Affeверations. Upon which the Council, with a good deal of seeming Displeasure, bid him go about his Business, and called another Witness, viz. *Mr. Wallis*, a Mercer, of *Abbotsbury* ; who deposed, he saw the Gypsy on Sunday the 7th of *January*, at the Ship ; she asked him to stay there to dine with her, but that he told her he had a Dinner he was very fond of at Home ; that he had seen *George Squires* there the whole Week before

fore, but not the Gypsy till that Day ; that he could not tell what brought them to *Abbotsbury* ; that he had sold them Goods several Times ; he remembered the particular Time when he saw her, because he bought a new Jack just at that Time.

*Hugh Bond*, Schoolmaster, of *Abbotsbury*, deposed, he saw them at the *Ship* there on the eighth and ninth of *January*, 1753 ; knew it was that particular Time, because it was when he returned from a Journey he made into *Devonshire* ; that *Wake* the Exciseman and *George Squires* lay together in his Bed while he was away ; that it was the eighth of *January*, 1753, when he returned from his Journey ; that he saw *Clarke* and *George Squires* on the *Tuesday* ; *George* said he would not stay there that Night, but go to *Portesbam*.

*John Bailey*, Carpenter, of *Abbotsbury*, deposed, he saw them there on the first of *January*, 1753, and most Days after till the eighth, shaved *George* twice ; knew it was the first of *January*, 1753, because his Brother set out that Day for *Bristol*.

*John Hawkins*, a Weaver, of *Abbotsbury*, deposed, he saw them there on the first of *January*, 1753 ; saw the old Woman sitting by the Kitchen Fire ; remembers the Time, because it was *New-Year's-Day* ; that he went to have his Fortune told, but that the old Woman would not tell it him ; that he then went to Dancing with them. Being asked, upon his



Cross-Examination, who he danced with, he could not tell, nor who *George* or *Lucy Squires* danced with.

*William Haines*, of *Portesham*, deposed, he saw the Gypsy there about Ten or Eleven o'Clock in the Morning on the tenth of *January*, 1753 ; said he had known her above thirty Years.

*John Haines*, his Son, deposed seeing her there the same Day.

*Mr. Bewley*, who keeps the Sign of the *Ship* at *Ridgeway-Hill* Foot, deposed, that they came to his House with *Clarke* on the tenth of *January*, 1753, about Ten or Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, had a Role and Cheese and some Beef Stakes, gave an Account how the dead Horse came into the Road, which some of the Witnesses had spoke of before ; said that the Gypsy People lay at his House all Night, but that *Clarke* returned by a hired Horse to *Abbotsbury*. He then produced some Nankeen, which he said *George Squires* left with him for the Reckoning, and *Squires's* Name was affixed to it : He said he remembered the Time from the Badness of the Weather, and because it was Quarter Sessions at *Blandford*, and some of his Neighbours had been there, and told him what a vast Flood it was in those Parts. Upon his Cross-Examination, being asked why he did not give Evidence on the Gypsy's Tryal, he said, Because he did not know

know it was her, as he had heard there were several of that Name.

Mr. *Murridge*, a Turnip Man, deposed, that he dined with them at *Ridgeway* the tenth of *January*, N. S. between Twelve and One at Noon, remembered it was very bad Weather; *William Clarke* rode one of his Horses to *Abbotsbury*; he remembered nothing of any dead Horse lying in the Way.

*John Taylor*, who keeps the Coach and Horses at *Fordington*, near *Dorchester*, deposed, he saw them there on *Thursday* the 11th of *January*; they went through a Neighbour's House, and through his Stables, on Account of the Waters being up; the young Woman, *Lucy Squires*, he said, was carried over the Water behind the Miller on Horseback, but that the old Woman tucked up her Cloaths about her, and waded through; they told him they had lain at *Ridgeway*.

*Thomas Hunt*, a Thresher, of *Chettle*, deposed, he saw them there on *Friday* the 12th of *January*, 1753, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; that he let them into an Out-house belonging to one Mr. *Watts*, and that he saw them the next Morning at Eleven o'Clock.

A Woman of *Sutton* deposed, that she saw the Gypsy there the 13th or 14th of *January*, that she gave her Two-pence to tell her Fortune; the Son and Daughter went on the mean Time.

*Elizabeth*

*Elizabeth Waters* said, that the Gypsy asked her for some Small Beer at her Master's House the 14th of *January*.

The next Witness called was *Mary Morrice*, who kept the *Spread Eagle* at *Basingstoke*. The Letter (mentioned before) being shown her, she said it was her Writing, and that she wrote it on the 18th of *January*, 1753, at the Desire of *Lucy Squires*, and directed it to *William Clarke*, Cordwainer, at *Abbotsbury*; and that she sent it immediately by her little Boy to the Post-Office; said she was sure the Gypsy was the same Woman.

*Elizabeth Edwards*, who lives at *Brentford*, said they were at her House at the Time of a Christening, which she proved by a Copy of the Register to be on the 22d of *January*.

*Susannah Barnick*, her Daughter, deposed the same, and that they went away on a *Tuesday*, and that she had never seen them before.

*William Pledger*, of the *Seven Sisters* at *Tottenham*, deposed, that he remembered they came there on *Tuesday* the 22d of *January*, and would have lodged there, but that he recommended them to one Mr. *Philipps*, a Farmer; that he took Notice of her Face, had seen her some Years before, and was sure the Gypsy was the same Woman. His Wife deposed the same Evidence he had given.

The Court then proposed to adjourn to *Wednesday* the first of *May*; to which the Defendant's Council made an Objection, which

was

was over-ruled. The Prosecutor's Council then desired that *Elizabeth Canning*, the Defendant, should be delivered into Custody of the Keeper of *Newgate*; but this was warmly spoke against by the Defendant's Council, so that it was at last agreed that she should be admitted to Bail; accordingly her former Bail entered into a fresh Recognizance. The Girl was then put into a Coach as privately as possible; but the Populace finding it out, hung upon and followed it with the loudest Huzzas and Shoutings to an House in the *Old Bailey*, where she went to, and they staid about the Door huzzaing till Eleven o'Clock; when being retired, she went Home. Some of the most vulgar of the Populace were so audacious and impudent to attack and insult Sir *Crisp Gascoyne*, as he was coming out of the Sessions House; which one of the Friends of *Canning* happening to see, he immediately pushed in among them, and rescued him from their Hands. The Friends of *Canning* were very much grieved at this Outrage, and the next Day had the following Hand-Bills printed, which they got delivered at Night to the Crowd that was assembled in the Sessions House Yard.

*To the Persons assembled about the Sessions House  
in the Old Bailey.*

“ Although nothing can be said to have  
“ been proved against *Elizabeth Canning* till  
“ her



“ her Evidence has been heard, which before  
 “ To-morrow Night may establish her Inno-  
 “ cence beyond a Doubt, yet various Attempts  
 “ have been used to prejudice the Publick  
 “ against her. Among other Charges utterly  
 “ false and infamous, it has been published,  
 “ that her Managers (who have scarcely re-  
 “ ceived enough from the charitably Disposed  
 “ to pay the current Charge of this tedious  
 “ Tryal) have hired you to obstruct Justice.  
 “ None of you present, none living, can say,  
 “ that one Word prompting you to espouse  
 “ her Side has been uttered by any one con-  
 “ cerned for her. If you have any Regard  
 “ for Publick Justice, for this poor injured  
 “ Girl, or for yourselves---by all that is dear  
 “ to you, be persuaded to Peace, and without  
 “ the least Murmur or Insult to any to wait  
 “ the Event of this Business---GOD and her  
 “ Innocence have hitherto supported her, in  
 “ the Opinion of many, through unexampled  
 “ Distresses : Leave it to GOD and her Inno-  
 “ cence to carry her through this, and all will  
 “ be well.”

Notwithstanding this, the Friends of *Can-*  
*ning* were charged with being the Encouragers  
 of these Insults, though they did every Thing  
 in their Power to prevent them. The greatest  
 Care was taken that could be, that the Girl  
 should go to and come from the Sessions House  
 privately, to avoid any huzzaing ; and she was  
 put

put into different Dresses, and went out at private Doors, and sometimes Windows, that the People waiting about the House might not know any Thing of her going out.

On *Wednesday* the Court met again, according to Adjournment; when it was informed, in a very moving and pathetick Manner, of the great Danger Sir *Crisp Gascoyne* had been in from the Mob on the *Monday* Night before, and the Court was moved that a Guard might be appointed for the Security of his Person, when he went from the Sessions House at Nights. The Jury likewise fearing for themselves, mov'd that a Guard might be allowed to them. The Recorder then set forth in a very eloquent Speech, the Insolence and ill Consequences of such Proceedings; that the Magistracy of the City of *London* were too respectable a Body to be thus insulted by a Mob; that himself too had met with some Insults; but he would have them to know, that the Magistracy were not to be terrified; that they would go to the Bottom of it; that whoever was concerned, let them look to it. The Council for the Defendant then arose, and told the Court that he would venture to say that none of the Friends of his Client were concerned in any Thing of this Sort; but supposing even that their Zeal had carried some of them too far, yet it ought not to prejudice his Client, who could have no Hand in it; therefore he hoped the Jury would not let their Minds be prejudiced against her  
by

by any Thing that an outrageous Mob (who followed nothing but the Dictates of Passion) had done or should do during the Course of the Tryal : That on the Part of his Client, he had a Complaint to make of no less an Outrage done to her, which was shameful to the highest Degree, and might be of the worst Consequence to her. He then read a Paragraph in the News Paper of the Day before, wherein the Defendant was spoken of in a very virulent Manner : 'The Insults given Sir *Crisp Gascoyne*, attributed to her or her Friends, with an Intent to obstruct Justice. He observed, that to publish such a Paragraph during the Course of the Tryal, was doing as much as could be done to bias and prepossess the Jury against the Defendant, and therefore cruel to the highest Degree, unjust and illegal. The Court agreed with him in this, and recommended an Information to be laid against the Printer of the Paper. After this, they proceeded to Business ; and Mr. Alderman *Chitty* was called, who deposed from his Minutes, which he took when *Elizabeth Canning* went before him at *Guildhall*, in Company with Mr. *Lion*, Mr. *Nash*, Mr. *Wintlebury*, and others, that *Elizabeth Canning* deposed before him, *January 31, 1753*, That upon the last New-Year's-Day, as she was returning from her Uncle's at or near *Saltpetre-Bank*, by the dead Wall against *Bedlam* in *Moorfields*, near Ten at Night, she was met by two Men, who robbed her

her of Half a Guinea, three Shillings, and a Halfpenny ; that they took her Gown from off her Back, and a Straw or Chip Hat ; that she struggled and made a Noise, and that one stopped her Mouth with something like a Handkerchief, and swore if she made any Noise or Resistance they would kill her, and hit her a Blow over the Head and stunned her, and forced her along *Bishopsgate-street*, each holding her up under the Arms ; but did not remember any Thing more that passed, and did not come to herself till about half an Hour before she came to *Enfield-Wash*, so called as she had learned since, where they carried her into a House ; that there were several Persons in the Room ; it was said she must go their Way ; and if so, she should have fine Cloaths ; she said she would not, but would go Home, and refused Compliance ; and then a Woman forced her up Stairs into a Room, and with a Case Knife which she had in her Hand cut the Lace of her Stays and took them away, and told her there were Bread and Water in the said Room, and if she made any Noise she would come in immediately and cut her Throat, then went out and locked the Door ; and that she never saw her, nor any one of them since, till after her Escape : The Bread in Quantity of about a Quartern Loaf, in four, five, or six Pieces ; and three Quarters of a Gallon of Water, or a little more, in a Pitcher, as she supposed : On which, and a Penny minced



Pye which she had in her Pocket, she subsisted till she got away, which was on the 29th of *January*, about Three or Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, and then made the best of her Way to *London*, to her Mother's at the Bottom of *Aldermanbury*. She also said, that she had had no Stool, only made Water, all the Time; and that there were in that Room an old Stool or two, an old Table, and an old Picture over the Chimney, two Windows in the Room, one fastened up with Boards, and the other, part boarded, and part glaz'd: At the latter she made a Hole by removing a Pane of Glass, forced a Part open, and got out upon a Shed of Boards or Pent-house, and so slid down and jumped upon the Side of a Bank on the back Side of the House, and so got into the Road, and reached her Mother's that Night about Ten o'Clock: Her Mother being there, said, she got her some Wine and Water, but she could not swallow it, and then sent for the Apothecary for Advice.

He further added, that she made no Mention of any Hay in the Room, nor of any Gypsy or remarkable Woman, nor of a Tobacco Mould or a Saddle, nor the Name of any one; and that she said, she had left a little Water in the Pitcher: That he was at first loath to grant her a Warrant, on Account of the Improbability of the Story; but that her Master *Lyon* and Mr. *Wintlebury* gave her an exceeding good Character. Being asked how  
he

he came to grant the Warrant to apprehend Mother *Wells* for cutting off *Canning's* Stays, he said, that some Body mentioned Mother *Wells* to be the Woman that kept a very bad House at *Enfield-Wash*, where *Canning* had been confined, but could not recollect whom ; was sure (he said) that *Canning* said she had been carried through *Bishopsgate-street*.

Mr. *Gawen Nash* deposed, that he went to Mr. *Lyon's* in *Aldermanbury*, to enquire the Truth of the Story in the News Papers ; that he was afterwards at her Examination before Mr. Alderman *Chitty*, as one of her Friends ; that he thinks Mr. *Adamson* was there, but does not know Mr. *Skirret* ; that *Canning* being asked by the Alderman what Sort of a Room it was that she was confined in, said, It was a little square darkish Room ; that there were Boards nailed up at the Window, and that through the Cracks she could see the *Hertford* Stage Coach, which used to carry her Mistress. And he likewise deposed, that she said there were an old broken Stool, or a Chair, an Iron Grate in the Chimney, and a few old Pictures hung over the Chimney, and that she lay upon Boards. He said he remembered it very well, because it affected him greatly to think the poor Creature had lain on the Boards that cold Weather ; but that he took no Memorandum in Writing of this or any Thing else she said. He could not recollect, he said, whether he or any one else mentioned Mother *Wells*, but that

*Canning* said she had heard that Name mentioned once, while she was confined ; that she gave no particular Description of any one Person, nor mentioned *Virtue Hall's* Name. Being asked if he communicated to *Hague* and *Aldridge* the Description of the Room, as given by the Girl to the Alderman, said he did. He deposed, that the Warrant was given to him or Mr. *Lyon* ; that they intended to have set out that Night, but his Wife being unwilling, it was agreed they should postpone it till the Morning, and the Warrant was delivered to Mr. *White*, the Lord Mayor's Officer, to apprehend the People at Mother *Wells's* early in the Morning ; that on the next Day he and Mr. *Lyon*, her Master, with Mr. *Aldridge* and Mr. *Hague*, set out in a Coach for Mother *Wells's* ; that about a Mile from *Enfield* they were met by some People riding as hard as they could, to inform them that they had seized all the People ; that being arrived at *Enfield*, he was impatient to see the Room, went into three, but neither answering her Description, he went into the Kitchen, and asked a Man he saw there if there was no other Room in the House ; upon which he unbuttoned a Door, which going up a few Steps, led into the Loft ; that there was no Lock to the Door, nor any Sign of there having ever been one, there being no Marks of any Nails ; that there was an outward Door, which had a Bar, which secured the Loft and the Cellar ; that he found the  
Room

Room to be a long Room ; that there was no Body in the Room with him then, but a labouring Man, who show'd him up ; that he took no particular Notice of any Thing there, because, as it did not answer the Description, he thought it had not been the Room ; that he then came down to Mr. *White* the Officer, and asked him what he thought of the Affair ; he said, he believed they were got into a wrong Box : He then went to his Companions who had come with him, and were then at the *Punch Bowl*, a Publick-House opposite, and asked them whether they would not go over and see the Room ; upon which Mr. *Lyon* and *Adamson* went over with him, with some other People ; that when they were come into the Loft, some Gentlemen said, that must be the Room ; but that he said to Mr. *Lyon*, that it did not answer the Account which the Girl had given of it ; to which Mr. *Lyon* replied, that the Things there might have been put in since ; that these Things were about half a Load of Hay, a Nest of Drawers, about four Feet by three high, and a Tub in which some Pollard was, three old Saddles, two of which were Women's Saddles, and a Parcel of Hay made into the Form of a Bed ; that over the Bed were a Jack-Line and Pullies, and that there was a Hole where the Jack-Line had gone through, which was stuffed with Hay ; that it was a thin Clay and Lath Wall, which separated the Loft from the Kitchen ; and that, if the



Hay had been removed, any one might see very plain in the Kitchen, and across the Kitchen into the Road ; that there was a little Chimney in the Room, which seemed to be a Place for the warming a Glue-Pot. Over the Chimney was a little Ledge, on which stood an old rusty Casement, covered with Dust and Cobwebs ; believed it had been there some Years, from the Dust and Cobwebs that were about it, and that he thought the Cobwebs united it with the Wall ; that there was no Grate in the Chimney, nor any Mark of one having been there ; thinks there was no Hearth, could not recollect if there was any Cobwebs about the Chimney ; that there was no Appearance of there having ever been any Pictures over the Chimney ; that at the North End of the Room there was a Window, one Part glazed, the other boarded up ; this Window commanded the great Road, through which all Travellers might be seen, and even heard ; that within nine or ten Feet of that Window, there is a watering Pond ; that the other Window of the Room never had been boarded up, and that was large enough for him to get out at ; and it was so low, he shook Hands with his Wife out of it ; that the Casement opened and shut extremely easy, and that there were Trees grew so very near it, that they were almost within his Reach : The Room, he said, could never have been dark, because the Tiles were not pointed ; that *Adam-*

son came into the Room long before *Canning*, and laid hold of the Boards at the North Window, and pull'd them down ; that after the People were all secured, they went over the Way, and were impatient that *Elizabeth Canning* was not come ; that *Adamson* and another tossed up to know who should go and meet them. *Adamson* went, and returned waving his Hat, saying, *We are all right, for BET says there is a little Hay in the Room.* That when *Canning* came, she was taken out of the Chaise in the Arms of a Man, and carried into Mother *Wells's* Kitchen, where she was set upon the DRESSER for about four or five Minutes ; that the Door of the Loft was then open ; that afterwards she sat upon a Stool in the Middle of the House, for near twenty Minutes, the Door of the Loft remaining all the while open ; that when she was carried into the Parlour, where there were many People, in order for her to pitch upon the Person who cut off her Stays, the Gypsy sat on the Right Hand Side, and Mother *Wells* on the Left ; that as soon as *Canning* came in, she fixed on the Gypsy, and said, *That was the Woman* ; that he could not then see the Gypsy's Face, and cannot tell whether *Canning* could : And when *Squires's* Daughter told her Mother that she was fixed upon as the Person who had robbed *Canning*, she then got up, and came cross the Room to *Canning*, saying, *Madam, do you say I robbed you ? Look at this Face,*  
and,

and, if you have ever seen it before, you must remember it, for I believe that God Almighty never made such another. When Canning told her when it was, she said, *Lord, Madam ! I was 120 Miles off at that Time :* He asked her where she was ; she said, at *Abbotsbury* in *Dorsetshire*, and that she could bring an hundred People to prove it, who had known her thirty or forty Years : That there were People in the Room who said, *Lord, she has been here but a very little while ;* and that there was a Woman called *Natus*, who said she had been in the House ten or eleven Weeks, and that the Gypsy had been there but a little while, and that she had never seen *Elizabeth Canning* there before.

After this, *Canning* was led to see the Place of her Confinement, and carried into several Rooms, then into the Loft : She said, she believed that was the Room. Being asked what she remembered in the Room, she turning about to the Left Hand, said, she remembered it by that Hay, but said there was more added to it. Being asked then what else she remembered, and a Pitcher being taken up from the Ground, she said, *That is the Jug I drank my Water out of :* Then a Gentleman took up a Tobacco Mould, and asked her if she remembered that ; she said, she did : Another Gentleman asked her, what else she remembered, and if there were any Saddles in the Room ; she said, she believed there might be one, but she

she did not remember any Thing of a Nest of Drawers : Being asked why she did not escape out of the East Window, she said, she did not know but it was fast. She said, she remembered nothing of the Jack-Line, and still persisted that the Gypsy was the Woman who robbed her.

Mr. *Nash* further deposed, that *Judith Natus* said, that she had lain in the Loft ten or eleven Weeks. The Conclusion of Mr. *Nash's* Evidence was, That from that very Time he thought *Canning* an Impostor, or else greatly deceived, and that he had given up espousing her Cause from that very Day. He was asked this three or four Times, and replied, that from that very Hour he had lefthaving any Thing to do in her Favour ; that he had often declared the same as he had deposed now, in common Conversation. Being asked how he came not to declare this upon the Tryal of the Gypsy, he said, he was present at Part of the Tryal, but being Butler to the Goldsmith's Company, and having a great Dinner to get for them that Day, he left the *Old Bailey* by Eleven o'Clock ; and that though he was a little discontented at the Evidence of *Canning*, yet he thought the Gypsy would not have been convicted, and if he had thought so, he would have staid and given the same Evidence as he had done now ; that soon after he heard *Mary Squires* was respited, he went voluntarily to the Lord Mayor, being dissatisfied in his own Mind, and told him



him he could let him into the whole Affair. Upon his Cross-Examination, he was asked whether he had not heard the Gypsy positively sworn against by *Canning*, before he left the Sessions House, which must needs convict her ; he owned he had : Upon which it was observ'd, that it was very odd, when the Life of a Person was concerned, and going to be condemn'd unjustly, that he should not stay or return to give his Evidence. He was then asked, whether he was sure that *Judith Natus* did say she had lain in the Loft ten or eleven Weeks, or only in the House ; to this he could give no positive Answer. A Letter was then shown him, which he owned to be his Hand Writing.

Mr. *Hague* and Mr. *Aldrich* gave much the same Account as Mr. *Nash*, only they differed in that one of them said there were Marks of some Lock or Fastening to the Door which led up to the Loft, where *Canning* was confined, and that there was a Sort of a Ledge or Pent-house under the Window, from whence she said she got out. Both said they dropped *Canning's* Cause from that Time. Being ask'd, they both owned they were at the Tryal of the Gypsy, and gave the Reasons why they did not then give Evidence, to save the Life of a Woman whom they thought wrongfully accused : One said, he was so shocked at it, that he had not Power to speak any Thing about it, tho' he staid all the Tryal, which lasted some Hours ; the other said, he was engaged to dine with a Gentleman

Gentleman in *Smithfield*, therefore left the Sessions House before the Tryal was quite finished.

The next Witness called was *Fortune Natus*, who deposed, That he and his Wife lay in that very Room during the Time *Canning* says she was confined there ; says, when they came there, there was half a Load of Hay in the Room, which Room he says was called the Work-Shop ; that his Bed was made of Hay and Straw, and his Bolster was a Sack of Wooll ; there was no Grate in the Room ; that there was a Nest of Drawers, and two or three Side-Saddles, a Man's Saddle, a large Drawer with some Pollard, and that there was a Tub, which was hooped with Iron Hoops ; that there was a Barrel, or Kilderkin, and an old Gun and a Gun Barrel ; and in the Chimney an old Lanthorn, a Spit, a Saw with two Handles, and a Jack and Pullies ; that the Pullies came through a Hole at his Bed's Head, and that Hole was a Matter of three Feet long : He said, there was an old Sign there, the Sign of the *Crown*, which he says used to hang at Mother *Wells's* Door, and that stood against the Wall ; that there were no Pictures there, but an old Iron Casement without Glass or Lead ; that he lodged in this Room twelve Weeks, excepting three Days, and lay there every Night, excepting one, and that his Wife lay there every Night : He says, the Sign that lay there was bought by one *Erza Whiffen* ; and that, to his Observation, nothing was taken.

taken out of the Room while he lay there ; that he was there all the Month of *January*, all *New Christmas*, *Old Christmas*, and till they were all taken up.

*Judith Natus*, who said she was Wife to *Fortune Natus*, gave much the same Account as he had done ; but, when she was asked if there was a Sign in that Room ; she said, there was, and it was the Sign of the Fountain. Afterwards she said there were two Signs, and the other was the Sign of the *Crown*. She seemed to forget several Things which her Husband said was in the Room, and recollected others, never mentioned before, particularly a Parcel of Pan-Tiles.

*Sarah Howell*, Daughter to Mother *Wells*, deposed, that she was there every Day during the Month of *January* ; but she says she had no Acquaintance with *Mary Squires*, her Son or Daughter ; but she says they came there upon a *Wednesday*, and were all taken up on the *Thursday* Se'nnight. The Pitcher being produced to her, she swore it was the very same Pitcher that was used in the Family : And she likewise deposed, that *Fortune Natus* and his Wife were there in that Time, and that she was there when they were all taken up : She says, that *Fortune Natus* and his Wife lay in the Work-Shop about two Months ; that there was a considerable Quantity of Hay in the Room, which was to feed her Mother's Horse, and some Pollard was there to feed the Sow ;  
that

that she could not take upon her to swear she lay in the House once during the whole Month of *January*, but was there every Day, or almost every Day, in that Time. She said, that *Virtue Hall* went as often into the Hay-Loft as she did; that, upon the eighth of *January*, *Edward Allen*, *Giles Knight*, and *John Larney*, lopped the Trees which were over-against the Window; and that *Virtue Hall* and herself were at the Window at that Time; that she opened the Casement herself, and it opened very easy.

*John Larney*, *Giles Knight*, and *Edward Allen*, gave an Account of their lopping the Trees on the eighth of *January*, that stood just against the Window of the Room in which *Canning* said she was confined, and talked to *Sarah Howel* and *Virtue Hall* the Time they were looking out at the Window of the Hay Loft.

*Exra Whiffen*, who keeps the *White Hart* and *Crown*, at *Enfield-Wash*, deposed, that he bought that Sign of the *Crown* which was in the Hay-Loft in *Mother Wells's* House; and that afterwards, on the 18th of *January*, he bought the old Hooks of *Mother Wells*, and that he went up into the Hay-Loft to look for them, and that he saw *Judith Natus* in Bed there; he says, the Irons were in a Piece of Wood; that his Son carried it Home upon his Shoulders, and knocked out the Hooks, and brought it back again; he says, he went forward to *Wormley*.

*John*



*John Whiffen* deposed, he was Son to the last Witness; that he went with his Father to Mother *Wells's*, but did not go into the Work-Shop; that he brought away the Piece of Wood the Hooks were fixed in, and took out the Hooks, and brought the Wood back again.

*John Howel* deposed, he lived at *Enfield-Wash*, and was Son to Mother *Wells*; that he was in the Work-Shop on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of *January*; he said, his Mother had sent him there on these Days to fetch Pollard to feed the Sow and Pigs, and that *Fortune Natus* and his Wife were the only People that were in that Room. He says, he attended the Tryal of *Squires*, but the Mob would not suffer him to come in, and that he was forced to go away.

Mr. Deputy *Molineaux* deposed, that he happened to be with the late Lord Mayor (after *Mary Squires* was convicted) when *Canning* and *Virtue Hall* were brought there in order to be examined; and that, after my Lord Mayor had examined *Virtue Hall*, her Answer was, she had nothing to say at that Time: He says, the Pitcher and Bed-Gown were produc'd; that *Canning* took up the Gown, in order to take it away, as it appeared to him; and my Lord Mayor said, *No, you must not take it away*; that then she said, *It is my Mother's*. This, he says, surprized him a great deal; because, on the Tryal of *Squires*, she said, she took

took it out of the Grate in the Room where she said she was confined.

On the Cross-Examination, Mr. Deputy *Molineaux* was asked, whether he had then heard any Thing of *Virtue Hall's* recanting; he said, he had heard she had recanted: And there was some Difference between the Witnesses who had seen *Virtue Hall* and *Sarah Howell* at the Window of the Loft; some saying, that *Virtue Hall* looked out at the Window, and *Sarah Howell* lean'd over her Shoulder; and others, that *Virtue Hall* was uppermost. They likewise differed in Regard to how the Loppings of the Trees were disposed of: One of them said, that he remembered the Time and the Circumstances, because he took Home one of the Clumps of the Wood, and set his Chimney on Fire by it. The Council observed upon this, that it was a little strange a Chimney should be set on Fire by a Clump of green Wood, just cut from the Tree.

One of the Clerks of the Post-Office was examined in Regard to the Post Mark on the Letter sworn on the other Side to be wrote at *Basingstoke* for *Lucy Squires*, January 18, 1753. He said, the Post Mark, if it was one, (for he could not tell whether it was or not) was so obscure, that he could not say whether it was *Basingstoke* or any other Place, and he believed no Man else could; and the Letter was handed about the Court to the Judges, Council, &c. but no one said it was sufficiently plain to be made

made out for any Place. The Clerk said, it was the *London* Post Mark, but was not certain that it was marked the 19th of *January*. Upon being asked, he said the Stamps or Marks they made Use of, were the same for one Year as another, without any Difference, and that the old ones were flung by.

Another Witness to prove the Gypsy's being at *Abbotsbury*, (who could not attend before) was called : This was one *Wake*, an Excise-man, who deposed, he saw the Gypsy at *Gibbons's*, in *Abbotsbury*, the first of *January*, 1753, and to the ninth ; that she advised or made him something hot, to take going to Bed, because he was not well. His Evidence was much the same as what the other Witnesses had deposed : He added, that he saw the Gypsy afterwards in *Newgate*, and knew her immediately, and that she knew him. Appearing in a Foot Soldier's Dress when he gave his Evidence, he was asked how he came to be exchanged from an Excise Officer to a Foot Soldier ; he replied, he was discharged from the Excise for *Stamping* : This being an unusual Term, he was desired to explain it ; which he did by saying, it was writing down in his Book without having been his Round to examine the Stock of the Publicans, &c.

*The Council for the Prosecution having gone through these Witnesses, rested it.*

The Council for the Defendant then rose up, and made a very strong and sensible Speech:

In

In which he observed, That his Client, after suffering to an uncommon Degree, by being almost starv'd to Death, was now brought to a Tryal for *Wilful* and *Corrupt Perjury*; that he had seen with some Surprize, the Council for the Prosecution challenging no less than *Sixteen* of the Jury; that he believed, except in Cases of Treason, that there had never been an Instance before of a Prosecutor challenging Sixteen of the Jury out of twenty-four; however, he was very well pleased with it, as he hoped, after this, that the Prosecutor, if a Verdict was given against him, would remain satisfied that Justice had been done him. He then observed, that he thought nothing amounting to a positive Proof had been brought against his Client, and that where a Case was doubtful, the Law always inclined to the merciful Side. That he did not suppose that the Witnesses who had sworn to the Gypsy's being at *Abbotsbury* at the Time, had wilfully perjured themselves, but that the Alteration of the Style, just at that Time, it was well known had greatly confounded the People, and that even to this Day it was usual with us to say (talking of the Seasons, &c.) that it is only such a Day of the Month, according as we used to reckon; that this Custom of reckoning by two different Computations or Styles, necessarily would puzzle any one in fixing some Months after on the particular Time on which any Thing happened; that the Gypsy was really at *Abbotsbury*, near about the Time in Question, he did suppose; but the Question was, whether it was at that particular Time.

He then observed how difficult it was for any one, who had made no Memorandum of it, to remember any common Fact some Months after it had happened; that the Gypsy being at *Abbotsbury* was no No-



velty, as she was often there, for People to take Notice and remember the particular Time; but that if, in such a Case, one more forward than the rest, pretended to remember the exact Time, it was very natural for his Neighbours to concur with his Positiveness, and so all agree upon the same Time. This he thought was the most rational Way of accounting for what had been sworn about the Gypsy's being at *Abbotsbury*; because, on their Side, they had several as credible Witnesses to prove that she was really then at *Enfield*. He then observed, that on the Prosecutor's Side, they did not seem desirous of coming to the Truth; for that if they had been so, the most probable and likely Way to have done it, would have been to have examined *Lucy Squires*, and *Mary*, the two Daughters of the Gypsy; one of whom had been with her Mother all the Time, and therefore certainly must know where she was, and consequently the most proper Person to be examined; and if these, upon a separate Examination, had agreed in one and a probable Story, he would have flung up his Brief immediately: But that the Council for the Prosecution had declined to bring these Witnesses to an Examination; as likewise *Virtue Hall*, upon whose Recantation the whole Affair was founded. He then went on to consider the Proof brought from the Letter supposed to be wrote at *Basingstoke*, the 18th of *January*, 1753, and desired the Court to observe, that the Date was only *January* 18th, 175, the Corner where the Figure 3 should have been being torn off; so that for any Thing that appeared, the Letter might have been wrote in 1750, 1751, or 1752: He likewise observed, that the whole Letter besides was very clean and perfect, and that this Corner in particular could not have been injured by the Seal in breaking it open, because it appeared this very Corner had been

folded

folded inwards, so that it could not have been injured by any Accident, unless the whole of the Letter had been injured. He also took Notice, that Mr. *Clarke*, of *Dorchester*, who was said to have received this Letter by Mistake, should have appeared to have proved the Day on which it came to his Hands, but that he had not been called, 'tho' so very material an Evidence, if he actually received the Letter at the Time said. He then spoke to the Possibility of *Canning's* Story, and even the Probability of it considering all the Circumstances that attended it. He observed that what his Brother Council on the other Side had said, that Villains and Robbers would never do Mischief merely for the sake of doing it, frequent Experience contradicted. As to the Improbability, which he had observed, of no one passing by to see *Bedlam*, at the Time the Girl was stopt and robbed; he must in Reply say, that if his Brother Council had taken it to his Head to go and see *Bedlam* at such an unseasonable Time, between the Hours of Nine and Ten at Night, that he should not have been surprized had the Keeper taken and locked him up among the mad People he came to see.

He next urged strongly, That notwithstanding all the extraordinary Pains that had been taken, they had not been able to prove in the least that the Girl was in any other Place than where she had sworn she was. "What! (says he) could a poor ignorant Girl without Money, without Friends, have the Art and Means to conceal herself a whole Month, undiscovered by any one, to lie-in, or to be salivated, as has been said? Strange! and incredible is it, that neither Midwife, Nurse, or Surgeon, under whose Care she was, should have blabbed nothing in all this Time! It is well known that

"Ladie,

“ Ladies of the greatest Fortune, that have Money  
 “ to buy Silence, yet cannot purchase Secrecy on  
 “ these Occasions, but their Miscarriages of this  
 “ Kind will get Abroad ; and yet not a single Syl-  
 “ lable, for the Space of sixteen Months, has come  
 “ out to prove *Canning’s* being in any other Place  
 “ whatsoever than the House of Mother *Wells*.”

He next observed, That it was contrary to Na-  
 ture for People to become desperately wicked and  
 inhuman all at once ; that it was always by Degrees,  
 and Step by Step, that People arrived to the Height  
 of Wickedness ; but that the Defendant’s Character  
 was proved to be blameless and irreproachable in  
 every Respect, till the very Hour of this Affair :  
 Modesty, Sobriety, Industry, and Good-nature, were  
 her Characteristicks ; and therefore it was quite in-  
 credible, that all of a sudden she should become  
 wicked enough to invent such a Story, and to be  
 guilty of the vilest Perjury and most premeditated  
 Murder, by wilfully and deliberately swearing away  
 the Life of an innocent Person. It has been re-  
 ported (said he) that the whole was a Contrivance  
 between her and her Mother, to get Money by the  
 Contributions of the Humane and Charitable ; but  
 it was not a Thing to be believed, that any Person  
 would on Purpose reduce themselves to the deplora-  
 ble and miserable Condition which it was known  
 beyond all Doubt that *Canning* was in, even to  
 within a Hair’s Breadth of Death, upon the uncer-  
 tain Hopes of getting a little Money : It was even a  
 Contradiction to Reason and common Sense, that any  
 one would, for the Sake of getting Money, reduce  
 themselves to so desperate a Condition, as to leave  
 little Hopes of living to receive it : And it could as  
 little be imagined, that any Mother could become a  
 Party in such a Act, and see a beloved Daughter re-  
 ducing

ducing herself to such a miserable and deplorable Condition, for the Sake of a very uncertain Prospect of Gain. He next shewed the Probability of Mother *Wells's* House being the Place she was confined in, particularly from the Circumstance of the black Pitcher. When she first came Home, she said she had had Water in the Place of her Confinement, in such a particular coloured Pitcher, that held about such a particular Quantity, and that was broken in such a particular Manner: And when the Persons went down to apprehend Mother *Wells*, &c. a Pitcher of the very same Colour, of the same Size, and broken in the same Manner, was found in the very Room where she said she had been confined; and the Pitcher was owned by the People who lived in the House to be their Pitcher, and *Wells* had said that *Canning* had never been in the House (to see this Pitcher) till the Time she came to apprehend her. He then observed, that *Canning's* fixing on the Gypsy as the Person who had robbed her, was a very strong Circumstance that she was no Impostor, and swore to the best of her Belief; for if she had been an Impostor, she would most certainly have fixed on Mother *Wells*, against whom she knew every Body was strongly prepossessed, and who could not have prov'd being elsewhere, and not upon a Woman who at the very Time said she was in another Place: If she had fixed upon Mother *Wells*, her Character was so infamous, that nobody would either have pitied or defended her. That had *Canning* been an Impostor, and so desperately wicked, as not to mind Perjury, she would most certainly have fixed on the Gypsy's Son as the Person who robbed her, as well as on the Gypsy herself for cutting off her Stays.

He then took Notice of what one of the Council on the other Side had said about her Flight from Justice,



“ Ladies of the greatest Fortune, that have Money  
 “ to buy Silence, yet cannot purchase Secrecy on  
 “ these Occasions, but their Miscarriages of this  
 “ Kind will get Abroad ; and yet not a single Syl-  
 “ lable, for the Space of sixteen Months, has come  
 “ out to prove *Canning’s* being in any other Place  
 “ whatsoever than the House of Mother *Wells.*”

He next observed, That it was contrary to Nature for People to become desperately wicked and inhuman all at once ; that it was always by Degrees, and Step by Step, that People arrived to the Height of Wickedness ; but that the Defendant’s Character was proved to be blameless and irreproachable in every Respect, till the very Hour of this Affair : Modesty, Sobriety, Industry, and Good-nature, were her Characteristicks ; and therefore it was quite incredible, that all of a sudden she should become wicked enough to invent such a Story, and to be guilty of the vilest Perjury and most premeditated Murder, by wilfully and deliberately swearing away the Life of an innocent Person. It has been reported (said he) that the whole was a Contrivance between her and her Mother, to get Money by the Contributions of the Humane and Charitable ; but it was not a Thing to be believed, that any Person would on Purpose reduce themselves to the deplorable and miserable Condition which it was known beyond all Doubt that *Canning* was in, even to within a Hair’s Breadth of Death, upon the uncertain Hopes of getting a little Money : It was even a Contradiction to Reason and common Sense, that any one would, for the Sake of getting Money, reduce themselves to so desperate a Condition, as to leave little Hopes of living to receive it : And it could as little be imagined, that any Mother could become a Party in such a Act, and see a beloved Daughter reducing

ducing herself to such a miserable and deplorable Condition, for the Sake of a very uncertain Prospect of Gain. He next shewed the Probability of Mother *Wells's* House being the Place she was confined in, particularly from the Circumstance of the black Pitcher. When she first came Home, she said she had had Water in the Place of her Confinement, in such a particular coloured Pitcher, that held about such a particular Quantity, and that was broken in such a particular Manner: And when the Persons went down to apprehend Mother *Wells*, &c. a Pitcher of the very same Colour, of the same Size, and broken in the same Manner, was found in the very Room where she said she had been confined; and the Pitcher was owned by the People who lived in the House to be their Pitcher, and *Wells* had said that *Canning* had never been in the House (to see this Pitcher) till the Time she came to apprehend her. He then observed, that *Canning's* fixing on the Gypsy as the Person who had robbed her, was a very strong Circumstance that she was no Impostor, and swore to the best of her Belief; for if she had been an Impostor, she would most certainly have fixed on Mother *Wells*, against whom she knew every Body was strongly prepossessed, and who could not have prov'd being elsewhere, and not upon a Woman who at the very Time said she was in another Place: If she had fixed upon Mother *Wells*, her Character was so infamous, that nobody would either have pitied or defended her. That had *Canning* been an Impostor, and so desperately wicked, as not to mind Perjury, she would most certainly have fixed on the Gypsy's Son as the Person who robbed her, as well as on the Gypsy herself for cutting off her Stays.

He then took Notice of what one of the Council on the other Side had said about her Flight from Justice,

Justice\*, and observed, that whatever he might have read in Popish Legends, and other fabulous Histories, yet, in the present Age, (tho' perhaps as virtuous as any other) it could not be believed that any Magistrate would sit upon the Bench, and condemn himself; tho', for his Part, he could have wished that Magistrate had been then on the Bench, for then it could not have been consistent with the Dignity of the Office, to have acted in the Manner which, perhaps, he now might do without any Impropriety.

The second Council observed, that the Prosecution against the Defendant was, in the Nature of it, liable to be of very ill Consequence to the Publick, and an Obstruction to the Course of Justice; for if Persons were liable to be indicted for wilful and corrupt Perjury, upon an *Alibi* Defence, it would make every one afraid of swearing to any Person upon any Trial; because, as it was notorious, there were Persons to be got to swear any Thing for Hire, so every Robber and Villain, that happened to be acquitted, might lay an Indictment of wilful and corrupt Perjury against his Prosecutor, by thus proving himself elsewhere at the Time. He then shew'd how uncertain it was to judge on any Occasion, from the Improbability, or Probability of Circumstances; and mentioned two or three Trials, in which a wrong Verdict had been given by this Means: One of a Highwayman, who was acquitted of a Robbery he was really guilty of, as he afterwards confessed himself, because it was thought impossible that a Man should ride from *London* to *York* the same Day; another of two or three Persons executed for the Murder of Lord *Campden's* Steward, on very probable Circumstances; and some Years after the Steward returned from *A-*  
broad,

\* See Page 145.

broad, where he had upon some Account secreted himself all the Time.

After the Council had finished their Speeches, the Witnesses for the Defendant were called.

*Edward Lions*, who lives in *Aldermanbury*, deposed, *Elizabeth Canning* lived Servant with him till the Time she was missing on the first of *January*, 1753; that he had known her sixteen Years, and gave her an extream good Character; that she went to see her Uncle (with Leave) but he saw no more of her till the 31st of the same Month; that he was with her before Mr. Alderman *Chitty*; that he, being somewhat deafish, could not take upon him to say all that passed; that there was a Warrant granted, and he and several others went down to Mother *Wells's* House, and the People of the House were secured: That, when *Canning* was brought there and set upon the Dresser, he cautioned her to be very careful to charge no Body but who she was sure was guilty; she said, she would be careful: That the first of the People taken up she saw was Mother *Wells*. She, upon seeing her, said she had done nothing at all to her; but upon seeing *Mary Squires*, said, she was the Woman that cut her Stays off. Being asked if he believed she saw her Face before she challenged her, he said, Yes; and she thought *George Squires*, after he had put on his Great Coat, extremely like one of the Men that robbed her in *Moorfields*: He also said, that Mr. *Nash* seem'd  
at



at coming Home to be well satisfied in what was done then, or at least he had very little or no Room to think the contrary; that Mr. Nash was once at his House afterwards, and at going out, said, *Mr. Lions, I hope God Almighty will destroy the Model by which he made that Face, and never make another by it*, meaning the Gypsy; and that Mr. Nash sent him the Letter which was shewn in Court to Mr. Nash on on his Examination, and which he owned to be his Hand-Writing, dated *February 10*, to this Purport:

“ *Mr. Lions,*

“ I am informed by Mr. *Aldridge*, who has  
 “ been at *Enfield*, that, if a Person was ap-  
 “ pointed there to receive Contributions, some  
 “ Money would be raised in that Place for the  
 “ unhappy poor Girl. I wish you Success,  
 “ and am,

*Your's,*

GAWEN NASH.

That Mr. *Hague* said, as they were coming up, he saw no Grate in the Chimney, or Picture over it; that he answered, they are moveable Things, and might have been taken away since; that they came Home all very good Friends; that he never found any Doubt from *Nash*, *Aldridge*, and *Hague*, till after the Tryal of *Squires*; and that he verily believed, when he saw Mr. *Nash* in Court on the Tryal of *Mary*

*Mary Squires*, that he would then have given his Evidence against the Gypsy.

*Thomas Colley*, *Canning's* Uncle, who lives at *Saltpetre-Bank*, at whose House she had been on the first of *January*, deposed to the same he did on the Tryal of *Squires* ; \* and his Wife was next called, who confirmed the same.

*Elizabeth Canning*, the Mother, deposed her Daughter was nineteen Years old, and to the same Purport as on the former Tryal ; with this Addition, that her Daughter said she had heard the Name of *Wills* or *Wells* mentioned in the House where she had been confined, before any Body mentioned such Words to her. On her Cross-Examination she said she had been to a Conjurer who lives in the *Old Bailey*, to enquire where her Daughter was, &c. that he took her Money and bid her go Home, and advertise her again, and she would hear of her. Being asked if he did not say any Thing about her Daughter's being kept by some black Woman, she said, she believed he might, but she was so frightened when he shut the Door upon her, and began his Conjurations, that she could not be positive of any Thing he said. She likewise gave a very particular Account of the Pains she had taken to find her Daughter out, when she was first missed, by going to every Place that she thought there was the least Prospect of finding her in, such as Hospitals, Prisons, and the like, as she heard that People sometimes, through Accidents and Mistakes, were carried immediately to such Places, without sending first to their Friends.

*Mary Northam* deposed, she carried all the Advertisements to the Printer, which were in the *Daily Advertiser*, by the Directions of *Mrs. Canning*.

S

*James*

*James Lord*, Apprentice to *Mrs. Canning*, deposed to *Elizabeth Canning's* being missed; the great Concern his Mistress was in on that Account, and that when she returned his Mistress was at Prayers for her Daughter's Return; that when she came to the Door, he did not at first know her, nor till she spoke, she was in such a deplorable Condition; that his Mistress fell in a Fit upon it; that she had a Bit of a Handkerchief over her Head, and an old Jacket on, and that she was a very sober Girl. He gave a very particular Account of his being sent to *Canning's* Uncle (where she dined on the Day she was missed) about Eleven o'Clock at Night, to see after her, when they were first alarmed at her not coming Home, and again there the next Morning early, and divers other Places all Day long; said, that his Mistress used to pray every Night to GOD for her Daughter's Return, and begged of him to do so too; that the Girl, when she came Home, said she had heard the Name of Mother *Wills*, or *Wells*, where she had been confined.

*Robert Scarrat* deposed that he, hearing *Canning* was returned the Night she came Home, went into her Mother's House; that he heard her say she had been on the *Hertfordshire* Road, about eight or ten Miles from *London*; that he said he would lay a Guinea to a Farthing she had been at the House of Mother *Wells*, and she said she heard the Name of *Wills* or *Wells* mentioned while she was in Confinement, (which was in a longish darkish Room) and saw a Coachman whom she knew go by, through a Crack of the Boards at the Window. Being asked if he had any Knowledge of *Elizabeth Canning* before, he said he never saw her, to his Knowledge,  
before

before that Night: He said he had been at Mother Wells's House sometimes when he lived Servant with Mr. Snee at Edmonton.

Mary Mires deposed, she had known the Mother and Daughter for many Years; that the Daughter is a very sober Girl, and always behaved as well as any in *England*; that, when she returned, her Mother sent the Apprentice for her, and she came; she found her in a very bad Condition, her Face and Arms being black, which she thought to be occasioned by the cold Weather; that she kneeled down on her Knees to talk to her, she answered so low; and she told her she was robbed and taken away by two Men, &c. and said she was confined in a Room where was some Hay, and a Pitcher with about a Gallon of Water, a Fire-place in it, about the Value of a Quartern Loaf; and when she got out, she pulled down two Boards from a Window, tore her Ear in getting out, and dropped down; and that she saw her Ear very bloody, which appeared fresh, and had dropp'd on her Shoulder.

John Wintlebury deposed, he had known her fourteen or fifteen Years; that she lived with him about eighteen Months, and behaved exceeding well; that upon hearing she was come Home, he went that Night; that she said to him, *O Lord! Sir, you do not know what I have gone through*; that she was in a very weak and bad Condition: She said, she had been confined on the *Hertfordshire* Road, and had heard



the Name of *Wills*, or *Wells*, mentioned in the House ; that she described a broken Pitcher, which held about a Gallon of Water, in the Room, and such a one he found when he went into that Room, and that *Canning* saw Part of *Squires's* Face before she fixed upon her, as he believes.

*Mary Woodward* deposed, she was sent for by *Mrs. Canning* the Night the Daughter returned, who was in a very deplorable Condition ; the first Words she said to her were, *Mrs. Woodward, I am almost starved to Death* ; and said, she had been confined in a Room on the *Hertford Road* ; she said, when she was brought into the House, three Women took hold of her, and the old Woman asked her if she would go their Way ; she answered, *No* : Upon which she went to a Dresser and took out a Knife and ripped the Lacing of her Stays, and then took hold of her Petticoat and looked on that, and struck her a Slap on the Face, and said, *D---n you, you B----h, I'll give it you*, and immediately turned her up into that Place where she was confined, and threatened her with Oaths that she would cut her Throat if she made any Noise ; and she said, the old Woman was a tall black swarthy Woman.

*Joseph Adamson* deposed, he had known *Elizabeth Canning* ever since she was big enough to walk about : That the first Time he saw her after she came Home, was the Day they went down to *Enfield-Wash* ; that none of them had Horses but *Mr. Wintlebury* and he ; that he was there before the Coach ; and, after the People were taken up, he rode back to tell them in the Coach not to stop at a Place where they

they had agreed to call : That he did not tell *Canning* at that Time there was Hay in the Room ; but, after he had spoke to the Coachman to make Haste, that he then asked *Canning* what Sort of a Place it was she was confined in : She answered, an odd, or a wild Sort of a Place ; that there was some Hay, and something else, which he could not remember ; that he then rode on ; and that his Horse being strong-headed, he could not keep him in, and that he was obliged to hold his Hat in his Hand, for Fear it should fall off. He further deposed about *Canning's* describing what was to be seen out of the Windows of the Loft, as he had done on *Squires's* Tryal, ( See Page 54. ) He deposed as to his Belief of *Canning's* seeing the Gypsy before she challenged her ; and, as to other Circumstances, the same as Mr. *Lyon*.

Mr. *Backler*, an Apothecary in *Aldermanbury*, deposed, he was applied to by the Girl's Mother, and went to her on the 30th of *January* ; he found her extreamly low, and could scarcely hear her speak, with cold clammy Sweats in her Bed ; she complained of being very faint and sick, and of Pains in her Bowels, and of having been costive the whole Time of her Confinement : He ordered her a purging Medicine, but her Stomach was too weak for it, and could not bear it ; he then ordered her a Glyster that Evening, and on the third of *February* another ; the latter had some little Effect : He ordered her another on the fifth ; that had no Effect at all ; and, she continuing very bad and in great Danger, Dr. *Eaton* was

sent for on the sixth : He wrote Prescriptions for her for fourteen Days, of Diureticks and gentle Cathartick Medicines ; that she was tolerably well in about a Month. When she was at the worst, her Face was remarkable, her Colour quite gone, her Arms of a livid Colour spotted ; and that when he heard she was gone to *Enfield-Wash*, when the People were taken up, he thought her not able to perform the Journey, and thought it extreamly improper for her to undertake it, she being very much emaciated and wasted.

Dr. *Eaton* deposed, that he saw her on the sixth of *February* at her Mother's, in a very weak Condition, and was very apprehensive she would die : She complained of a Pain in her Bowels, and could hardly keep any Thing in her Stomach ; she took a little Chicken Broth ; she appeared to lie in great Distress. Being asked if he saw any Signs of her being an Impostor, he answered, No, he did not : He found she was costive to a very great Degree, and appeared to him to be in very great Danger for seven or eight Days, but on the fourth of *March* she was well enough to go Abroad in the Neighbourhood. Being asked, whether there were any Symptoms of her being lately under a Salivation, he answered, *Nothing like it, nothing like it, I'll assure you ; but that she appeared as one almost starved.*

On his Cross-Examination, he could not undertake to say her being in that low Condition

was

was by Loss of Appetite occasioned by a Fever or other Distemper, or whether it was from being confined from Victuals. She told him she had been kept, as she before related, on Bread and Water, and he believed her; and said, it was plain she had not eat much, by the Symptoms he observed. Being asked by her Council, if it was possible for a Person to subsist twenty-eight Days on what she had mentioned, he answered, *No Doubt but there is a Possibility of it.*

*Robert Beals*, who is one that attends the Turnpike at *Stamford-hill*, deposed, that, at the Beginning of *January*, as he was standing by the Gate at near Eleven at Night, he heard a sobbing and crying on the Road; it came from towards *Newington*, and drew nearer and nearer; at last he perceived it was two Men and a young Person, seemingly by her crying; one said, *Come along you B----b, you are drunk*; the other said, *How drunk the B----b is!* and made a Sort of a Laugh; but she seemed unwilling to go. By his Light he could see them, one got over the Style, and the other laid hold of one of her Legs, or both, and lifted them over, so that she came down upright; she hung back and fell on her Breech on the Step of the Style, and set out a fresh Cry bitterly, as though she would go no further; that he went nearer them, expecting she would speak to him; but there being two Men, and he alone, he did not think it safe to interpose; that the one pulled her, and the other jostled her along, and so they took her out of Sight towards *Enfield*.

*Thomas*



*Thomas Bennet* deposed, he lives at *Enfield*, near the ten Miles Stone ; and on the 29th of *January*, 1753, between Four and Five in the Afternoon, between Mother *Wells's* and his own House, he saw a miserable poor Wretch coming along, without either Gown, Stays, Cap, Hat, or Apron on, only a dirty Thing, like half a Handkerchief, over her Head, and a Piece of something on, that reached down just below her Waist, with her Hands lying together before her ; she asked him the Way to *London*.

*David Dyer* deposed, he lived at *Enfield-Wash* ; that about a quarter of a Mile from Mother *Wells's* House, towards *London*, at Four in the Afternoon, three Evenings before Mother *Wells* and her Family were taken up, he saw a poor distressed Creature pass by him, out of the common Field ; he said to her, *Sweetheart, do you want a Husband ?* She made no Answer ; she had a Thing tied over her Head, like a white Handkerchief, walking with her Hands before her, very faintly, and was a shortish Woman, with a shortish Sort of a Thing on, it did not come very low on her ; that he looked at her Face as she passed him, and said (upon looking upon *Elizabeth Canning*) he takes her to be the same Person.

On his Cross-Examination he says, she had not an unlikely Face, she looked whitely, it was not black ; and for what he saw, her Hands look'd as other People's did.

*Mary Cobb* deposed, she lived at *Edmonton* ; that she met a Person in *Duck's - Fields*, in a poor distressed Condition, between the six and seven Miles Stones, on the 29th of *January*, just at the setting in of Day-light ; she had a Handkerchief pinned over her Head, it hid Part of her Face ; she had a black Petticoat and an old Bed-Gown on, and her Arms wrapped in it ; she perceived she had a young Face ; she walked creepingly along : Upon her being

ing bid to look on *Elizabeth Canning*, and see if she knew her, she said, she had never seen her since that Time, but firmly believed it might be her by the Tip of her Nose, which, she said, bears some Resemblance to the Person she met.

*William Howard* deposed, he lived at *Enfield-Wash*, right over-against Mother *Wells's*; he has a small Fortune of his own, and has a little Employment under the Government, on which he lives. He said, *Edward Aldridge*, the Silversmith, and a Cousin of his of the same Name, who is his Neighbour, came to him about two or three Days after *Squires* and *Wells* were taken up, and brought a printed Case of *Elizabeth Canning*, to recommend a Contribution in her Behalf; he looked upon it that he came to him on that very Purpose, and had then no Apprehension of any Dissatisfaction. About six or seven Days after he came again; then he asked him, what he thought of it? *Aldridge* made Answer, there was one Thing he was not quite clear in, and that was the Description she gave of the Room; but, he said, he thought she was there, and had been very ill used.

Mrs. *Howard* confirmed the Testimony of her Husband, and further deposed, that the first Time she can recollect she saw the Son and two Daughters and *Mary Squires*, she believes to be on the Sunday was Se'nnight before they were taken up, which was the 21st of *January*; that they were standing at *Wells's* Door.

*William Headland* deposed, he was at his Father's at *Enfield* before *January* was twelve Months, and saw *Wells* and *Squires* taken up; that he found a Piece of Window Lead all bloody on the Ground near the Window, which the Girl said she got out at, after they were taken up; that he carried it to his Mother,

Mother, who laid it up, but it is since lost ; and that he saw *Mary Squires* on *Tuesday* the 9th of *January*, under *Lomas Dean's* (at the *Bell* at *Enfield*) Brick Wall, telling a young Man his Fortune ; that he saw her on the 12th at *Wells's* House, and her two Daughters were with her ; one of them was buckling up her Pumps which she had on.

On his Cross-Examination, he appeared very ignorant as to reckoning of Time ; he could not tell which Month *Christmas* was in, but knows it is in Winter Time.

*Elizabeth Headland*, the Mother to the last Evidence, deposed, her Son brought her a Piece of Lead that was bloody, after *Squires* was taken up ; she laid it in a Table-Drawer, and it is since lost ; he said, he found it a little Way from Mrs. *Wells's* Window, where the Girl said she got out at.

*Samuel Story* deposed, he lives at *Waltham-Abbey* in *Essex*, on his Fortune : He looks at *Mary Squires*, and says, he saw her several Times in *White-Webb's Lane* ; that the last Time he saw her, was on the 23d of *December*, 1752, sitting within the Door of Mrs. *Wells's* House, this was on a fine frosty Morning ; that he took particular Notice of her, and knew she was the same Person he had seen in *White-Webb's Lane*, where he used to ride two or three Times a Week ; that he remembered this 23d of *December*, by its being a fine frosty Morning when he went out ; the Weather changing, and it raining at his going Home, he got Cold, and the Rheumatism and St. Anthony's-Fire followed ; that he was not out of his House for near two Months after that, and is both certain as to the old Woman and the Day.

*William Smith*, who lives at *Enfield*, deposed, that on the 14th of *December*, 1752, *Mary Squires* (whom

(whom he saw in Court) lay in his Cow-House, and for two Nights after ; that there were two Men and two Women with her, and that she had been about the Country near him some Time.

*Lomworth Dane* deposed, he lives at *Enfield-Wash* ; He looks at *Mary Squires*, and says, he is sure he saw her last *Old Christmas-Day* was Twelvemonths : He was filling a Barrow from a Heap of Gravel at his Door, and stood resting himself, and she went past him at the same Time.

*Samuel Arnot* deposed, he lived at *White-Webb's Lane*, on *Enfield-Chase* ; that on *Monday* Morning, the 9th or 10th of *December*, 1752, which he says was before *New Christmas*, *Mary Squires* enquired of him for a little brown Horse which she had lost ; that she told him her Name was *Squires* ; that he saw her the *Sunday* following ; that a Man, two Women, and two Children, were with her ; that the Children seemed to be about four or five Years old ; that he never saw her afterwards, till he saw her in *Newgate*, and he believes this to be the very same Person that lay at *Farmer Smith's*.

*Elizabeth Arnot* deposed she was Wife to the last Witness ; that she saw *Mary Squires* about a Week before *New Christmas* : that that was the first Time she saw her ; that afterwards she saw her in *Farmer Smith's Cow-House* ; that she came out and asked her about a little Horse ; that there were several more along with her : that afterwards she saw her in *Newgate* after the Trial, and believes she is the same Person.

*Sarah Starr* deposed her Husband is a Farmer ; that she knew *Mary Squires* ; that she came to her House, the next Door to *Mrs. Wells's*, upon the 18th or 19th of *January* was twelve Months ; that she never saw her before : that first of all she offered  
to



to mend China or Delf Ware for her ; then she came and desired to buy pickled Pork and brown Bread ; that she gave her some Chitterlins which lay upon the Table, in order to get rid of her : that she believed she saw her in the whole about three quarters of an Hour ; that she would have told her's and the Servants Fortune, and they were afraid of her ; that she said she had been before Dukes and other great Persons, and she would not hurt any Body ; she says she was terribly scared, having never seen such a Person before.

*Daniel Vass* deposed, that he lived in *Turkey-Street*, in *Enfield* ; that on *Old Christmas-Day* the 5th of *Jan*, he saw her go by his Door as he was in his own Yard ; he said he saw nobody with her, [*except she had somebody under her Cloak* ;] that he saw her afterwards in *Newgate*, and is sure she is the same Person, though nor in the same Cloaths : that when he saw her first she had on an old white Beaver Hat, a Brick-coloured Gown, and a red Cloak ; the Reason he gave for it's being that Day was, that his Master did not chuse he should work on that Day, because it was *old-Christmas* ; that he never saw her before or since ; that she did not stop at his House above a Minute, and that he knew her again in *Newgate*.

*Jane Dadwell* deposed, she liv'd at *Enfield-Wash*, and kept a Chandler's-shop there ; that the first Time she saw her was on the 28th of *Dec.* in *New-Christmas Week* ; that she came to her Shop, and that *Mary Squires* the Daughter had been there several Times before ; that when she came in she was in a back House, washing her Dishes ; that the Reason of her remembering the Day was, she had dressed Meat to give away to her Customers ; that after she was gone, some of her Neighbours came  
in

in and asked who she was ? that she never saw her afterwards, 'till she saw her in *Newgate* ; that there she owned to her that she had been at her House ; she said, that *Mary Squires* did not tell her where she lived, and that she had no Company with her at that Time.

*Tobias Kelley* deposed he lived at *Enfield*, and knew *Mary Squires* ; that he remembered seeing her something better than three Weeks, in *Jan.* that he did not know the Day of the Month, nor was he sure he ever saw her before ; that he thinks the Time rather before *Old Christmas-Day* ; that it was near a Month before she was taken up : that she passed by him ; and that he never saw her before nor afterwards : and after that he says, he saw her three or four Times ; and that she asked him for a Pipe of Tobacco, and would have told him his Fortune : that she did tell one *John Rowley* his Fortune, and told him he had an Enemy, and asked him for Three-pence, and he gave her but three Halfpence : that he saw nobody with her at any Time.

*John Frame*, who deposed he lived at *Enfield*, in *Turkey-Street*, that he saw her there upon the 11th or 12th Day of *Jan.* was Twelve-Month ; that he was out in the Gardens, and she spoke to him through the Palisadoes ; that he only gave her a Halfpenny ; and that she told him what was good Fortune : that he never saw her before, but several Times after ; that he saw her in *Newgate* : that when he saw her at *Enfield* she was by herself, and that she had a Reddish Gown on, and a light-coloured Cloak.

*Joseph Gold* deposed he lived at *Enfield*, and was a Labourer ; that he knew *Mary Squires*, and saw her upon the 8th or 9th of *Jan.* about a quarter of a Mile from *Wells's* House ; that he took particular  
Notice

Notice of her, hearing Mother *Wells* had some Gypsies in her House : that he saw her eight or nine Days before she was taken up ; and that before he saw her, *Virtue Hall* told him there were Gypsies in Mother *Wells's* House ; that he cannot tell what her Dress was ; and that she had nobody with her.

*Mary Gold* deposed she was Wife to the last Witness ; that she saw her on the 11th or 12th of Jan. that she asked her if she had any China to mend ? and told her she should not live long ; that she was very much surprized ; that she saw her afterwards in *Newgate*, and is the same Person : that she never saw her before that Time ; that she had the same Dress, a yellowish Sort of a Gown, as she had on in *Newgate*.

*Humphery Holding* deposed he was a Gardener ; that he knew *Mary-Squires* ; that the first Time he saw her was on the 18th of Jan. 1753 ; that she asked him if the Family was at Home ? that he had no more Conversation with her ; but on the *Thursday* afterwards he saw her as he was pruning Vines for Doctor *Harrington* ; that she asked if there was any China to mend ? that he saw her go to the Door, and heard some Body say, *no* ; but he did not see them : that the next Time he saw her was in the Cart, going to Justice *Tashmaker's* ; he said she had on a darkish yellow Gown, and a red Cloak ; that she did not appear to him to be a very able strong Woman ; that he has seen her since in *Newgate*,

*Sarah Vass* deposed she was Wife to *Daniel Vass*, and lived in *Turkey-Street, Enfield* ; that she saw *Squires* there, and that she wanted to tell her her Fortune ; that she refused it ; that she came into her House

House the Day before she was taken up as she was drinking Tea ; that she asked for a Pipe of Tobacco that she gave her one ; that then she asked her for a Dish of Tea ; that she gave her two ; that then she offered to tell her Fortune, and that she had Conversation with her about a quarter of an Hour after that she saw her in *Newgate*, and she is the same.

Mr. *Gladman* deposed, that he lived about a Quarter of a Mile from Mother *Wells's* House, that he never saw *Natus* or his Wife, or *Squires's* Son and Daughter, but that he saw Mother *Squires* ; that she was dressed in a black Hat, a little red Cloak, and a brick coloured Gown.

*Ann Johnson* deposed, that she lived at *Enfield* some Time ago, and had lived there twenty-seven Years ; that she got her Living by Spinning ; she was positive that she saw *Mary Squires* at her Door the 18th of *January*. The Reason she gave for knowing the Time was, that she spun for one Mr. *Smitheram*, and carried home her Work two Days before the 18th of *January* ; that upon the said Day *Mary Squires* asked her for some China or Delft Ware to mend, and also for some Victuals, but she gave her none ; that she was then alone ; that she saw her about three Times within the Space of ten or eleven Days ; that she went to see her in *Newgate* after the Trial, and there knew her to be the same Person ; she said that she had two Cloaks on when she saw her, and a Gown of a very particular Colour.

*Thomas Smitheram*, was then called for the Prosecution. He deposed, that the Work *Ann Johnson* swore she brought home on the 16th was not brought home till the 23d, which he had set down, and he produced the Book wherein it was entered ; this was a Book in which he set down the going out of the Wool, and the Day it was brought home spun.

*Grace*



*Grace Kirby* deposed, that a little after *Christmas* was *Twelvemonth Squires* came to her Door. She said, she remembered it because she had been but a very little Time in her House.

*Wife* the Wife of *John Bassett* deposed, that she lived at *Enfield*, and was a Mantua-maker; that she knew *Mary Squires* very well, and saw her either the 21st or the 22d of *December*; that she saw her on a *Monday*, and gave her a Penny to tell her her Fortune; that she gave her a Dish of Tea, and never saw her afterwards till in *Newgate*; that she there told her the Time she had seen her, and that *Squires* said, *You might see me, but that was not the right Time.*

*James Pratt* deposed, that he lived at *Chertson*, about two Miles from *Enfield*, and that the first Time he saw *Squires* was at Farmer *Smith's* Cow-house, and that she asked him Leave to go in there, but he being only a Servant could not give it; that she went to the Cow-house, and having continued there three Days, left it on a *Sunday*, but he could not tell the Day of the Month; that there were in the Company Men, Women and Children; that *Mary Squires* complained there of having lost a Horse, and said there was a Clog upon him, with her Name on it; that she afterwards charged him with stealing that Horse; he says that he is sure she is the same Woman that lodged in his Master's Cow-house, for that he saw her in *Newgate*.

*Lydia Faroway* deposed, she lived with Mrs. *Howard* at *Enfield-Wash*, that she saw *Mary Squires* once or twice, but does not take upon her to say the Day of the Month when she did see her; that she saw her once at her Mistress's Gate.

*Margaret Richardson* deposed, she lived there last *January* was *Twelvemonth*, that she saw *Mary Squires*

*Squires* at a Shop in *Enfield*, and looking at her said, *I am sure she is the very same Person, I saw her there above a Quarter of an Hour.* She likewise deposed, she saw her on old *Christmas-Day*, and that there was a Dog belonging to the Family which was very fierce, and would have tore *Squires* if her Husband had not come by and prevented it.

*George Clements* deposed, that he was Servant to *Mr. Starr*, and lived near *Mrs. Wells's* House, a Year and a Quarter, that he remembered to have seen *Mary Squires* about a Fortnight before they were taken up, that she wanted to tell his Mistress her Fortune, that his Mistress gave her some Hog's Pudding, and that he saw her at *Enfield* two or three Days afterwards.

*Hannah Fenchan* deposed, her Husband was a Gardener, that she saw her in *January*, 1753, in a Place called *Trott's-Walk*, that she saw her passing and repassing, and afterwards in *Newgate*, and that she is sure she is the very same Person.

*Elizabeth Sherrard* deposed, she lived at *Ponder's-End*; that she saw *Mary Squires* on *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, before *Christmas*; that *Mrs. Wells* told her she had got a new Lodger, and asked her to come to her House; but she could not tell whether it was *New Christmas Day*, or what Day of the Week, or whether it was Winter or Summer, but yet she went to Church on *New Christmas-Day*. Upon farther Recollection, she said that it was on a *Monday* or *Tuesday*; she said that *Mrs. Wells* was very civil to her, and gave her a *Christmas-Box*, which was a Penny.

*John Ward* proved the Confession of *Wells* in Prison, in Relation to the Matter of confining *Canning*. He deposed he knew *Wells* some Years before; that she lived at *Enfield-Wash*; that having seen her

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Name

Name in the News Papers before the Tryal of *Mary Squires*, he went to see her in Bridewell ; that after some Conversation, he said to her, *How could you keep the Girl a Fortnight ?* and she answered, *She was there twenty-eight Days ;* and that when he asked in what Room, she said, *You know the Room well enough.*

*Richard Jones* deposed, he went along with *Ward*, and heard this Conversation.

*Nathaniel Cramphorn* deposed, he lived at *Waltham-Cross* about seven Years ago, and knew *Judith Natus* ; that upon the 21st of *April* last she came to his House, and he asked her if she knew *Canning* was at Mother *Wells's*, how she could go against her ? that she said, *Indeed, Mr. Cramphorn, I cannot say but she really was there when we were there.*

*Elizabeth Cramphorn* deposed, that *Judith Natus* came to their House upon the 21st of *April* last, and that upon Mr. *Cramphorn's* asking the Question, she answered and said, *Indeed she was there when I lodged there.*

*William Jackson* deposed, that he laid a Wager of a Shilling with *Fortune Natus*, that he was not at Mother *Wells's* all the Time ; upon which a Person made Answer, he was out one Night, and *Fortune* owned it to be a Fact.

*Daniel Stevens* deposed, that he knew *Wells*, and that he saw *Squires* in New Prison, that there she owned she had been at Mother *Wells's* House, but that she had never cut off the Stays, or robbed the Girl. He likewise deposed, that she said, the said *Canning* was at Mother *Wells's* about a Fortnight, and that she was there likewise.

*Joseph Haines* deposed, that he lived at *Ware*, that he had known *Fortune Natus* six or seven Years. He

He said in general that he has a bad Character, and is not to be believed upon Oath.

*Daniel Chapman* deposed, that he lived twenty Years at *Ware*, that *Fortune Natus* and his Wife have both a very bad Character, and that he did not think either of them to be believed upon Oath.

*Thomas Green* deposed, that he had lived thirty Years at *Ware*, and that he believed *Fortune Natus* and his Wife would say any Thing for Gain.

*William Metcalf* deposed, that he is a Glazier, Painter and Plumber, and lives at *Enfield*, that he carried *Whiffen's* Sign home on the 8th of *January*, Old-Style, that *Whiffen* told him he had bespoke some Sign-Irons of a Blacksmith, that he saw him about ten Days or a Fortnight after, and they were not made; that he then directed him to Mother *Wells's*, for the Irons which did formerly belong to the Sign. He produced his Book to prove his setting down what he had done to the Sign.

Mr. *Marshall* deposed, he had known *Elizabeth Canning* ever since she could go alone, having lived so long in the Neighbourhood, and said she always bore a very good Character.

*The Council for the Prosecution* said, he was to tell the Jury from the Prosecutor, that he had nothing against her exclusive of that Fact.

*The following further Witnesses were called on the Side of the Prosecution besides those already mentioned.*

*John Carter*, who said, he kept a Publick-House near *Wells's* House; he deposed he saw Men lopping the Trees, and that they flung Clods of Dirt at *Virtue Hall* and *Sarah Howell*, who stood at the Window of the Loft; and that *Fortune Natus* and his Wife lodged at *Wells's*: He said, he saw *Mary Squires*



*Squires* there only the Morning she was taken up, but he saw her Son a Week before that Time.

*Elizabeth Long* deposed, that she was Daughter to Mother *Wells*, and that she lived but three Houses distant from her: She says, she believes she was there every Day in *January*; that her Sister and *Virtue Hall* lived there, and that *Fortune Natus* and *Judith Natus* lived there at that Time; that she had Occasion to go into the Work-Shop several Times, and had often seen *Judith Natus* and her Husband in that Room, and in Bed; she described the Chimney to be at the Feet of *Fortune Natus's* Bed, and that she never remembered there was a Grate there; that she remembered a great deal of Hay being put there for the Use of the Horse that her Mother kept; and that she remembered the Pollard and Bran for the Use of the Sow and Pigs, and that she was there in the Month of *January* to take some Pollard for that Purpose, and is sure no Body lodged in that Room all that Time, except *Fortune Natus* and his Wife: The Pitcher was produced in Court, and she said that was her Mother's Pitcher; and as to the Bed-Gown, she never saw that before: She said, she saw *Mary Squires* at her Mother's upon the 24th of *January*, and that was the first Time she saw her; that her Son and two Daughters came there then, and they were all taken up on the first of *February*.

*Robert Pyke* says, he was at Mother *Wells's* House during *New and Old Christmas*; that he went there to keep Company with *Natus* and his Wife; that he was never in the Hay-Loft, but was there during the Time that *Natus* and his Wife lay there.

*George Talmarsh* deposed, that he was an Attorney, and went to see Mother *Wells* in Prison, and that

that he was employed by her to make out Subpœna's, which he did for eight People.

*Mary Larney*, who said she kept a Chandler's Shop at *Enfield*, that she knew *Fortune Natus* and his Wife very well, she says they dealt with her for Chandlery Goods ; that she had seen them go in and out very often to Mother *Wells's*, between *Michaelmas* and *Christmas* 1752, and that they told her they lodged there ; and that the first Time she saw *Mary Squires* there was on *Wednesday* the 24th of *Jan.* and upon the *Thursday* se'nnight after that *Wednesday* they were all taken up ; and that the first Time she saw *Lucy Squires* was, that she sold her a small Loaf of Bread, and that she sold her Bread, Cheese, and Small Beer the very Day that *Mary Squires* came to *Wells's* House, and that *Lucy Squires* wanted to borrow a Pitcher of her, and that she never saw any Gypsies at *Wells's* House before ; and that she would not put the Money she had taken of the old Woman into her Pocket before she put it into a Pail of Water.

Mrs. *Meale* deposed, that she is a Midwife, and that she brought *Elizabeth Canning* into the World ; she said, she went there the 2d or 3d of *February*, that she saw the Girl to all Appearance in a very weak Condition, laying upon a Bed ; that as soon as she came in, *Canning's* Mother asked her if she had heard of her Misfortune ? saying, her Child came home as naked as ever she was born into the World ; she said, what ! without a Shift on ? that her Mother said no, she had a Shift on ; upon which she says she turned herself about to *Canning*, who lay on a Bed, and asked her how it came about ? she related it to her : She says upon this she expressed a great deal of Concern, fearing she might have been debauched : That *Canning* could not tell what had happened to her,

her, because she told her she was insensible in Fits. She said, upon this she asked her Mother whether she had her Child's Shift she came home in? That her Mother produced it; that she examined it, and asked if it had not been washed since her Daughter came home? her Mother said no; she said, she told her Mother it was uncommonly clean to be worn so long: That she looked very narrowly upon it, and told her Mother she had not been debauched; that her Mother earnestly thanked God for it. She said, she went a second Time to see her; and on her examining the Shift again, she told her Mother it could not have been worn above a Week; and that then she saw three small Spots of Excrement upon it: She says, the Mother was then extremely angry with her, and said, do you come here to set her Friends against her? She was asked about the Girl's Character, and she gave her a very good one.

After all the Witnesses were examined, the Recorder summed up the Evidence on both Sides, which took up about two Hours; it being then Twelve o'Clock at Night, of Tuesday May 6th, the Jury withdrew, and after being out upwards of Two Hours, brought in their Verdict in Writing, *Guilty of Perjury*, BUT NOT WILFUL OR CORRUPT; but the Court telling them, that their Verdict must be either Guilty or Not Guilty, they again withdrew, and in a short Time after, brought her in Guilty, but recommended her to the Mercy of the Court; upon which she was immediately committed to *Newgate*.

Thus ended this very remarkable Trial, after having lasted eight Days; and, it's allowed by all, was the most extraordinary one, that ever came before any Court in this Kingdom. Her Sentence was respited till the next Sessions, which began *May* the

13th : In the mean Time, two of the Jury who tried her, made an Affidavit that they did not mean by their Verdict, to bring her in Guilty of Wilful and Corrupt Perjury. When the Sessions began, one of the King's Council moved the Court for an Arrest of Judgment, or a new Trial, and argued very strongly for it, but this was overuled, and the Court proceeded to pass Sentence ; but, differing in their Opinions what this should be, they divided, when eight of them were for only laying a small pecuniary Fine on her, and nine for a Month's Imprisonment, and at the Expiration thereof, to be transported to some of his Majesty's Plantations for seven Years : Thus by a Majority of one *only*, the severer Sentence took Place.





## Advertisement to the Subscribers to this Book.

**A**FTER our Thanks for the great Encouragement that has been given to this authentic and impartial Account, of the strange Affair between the unfortunate Maid *Elizabeth Canning*, and *Mary Squires* the Gypsy ; to the end of the last Trial.

Many of our Customers being greatly desirous of knowing every Thing that has happened to this poor Girl, since Sentence has been passed upon her, how she has been treated in *Newgate*, and how she has behaved there under her sore Afflictions ; what has been said and done for her, by her Friends and Enemies, and the like ; we are now collecting together and preparing, a full Relation of every Thing that has happened, since the Hour of her Committment to *Newgate*, continued to the Time of her Transportation : This will probably be contained in two or three Numbers, however, all above three will be given *Gratis*. This necessary Completion of the History is the more useful, as many are very desirous of preserving the Account of this surprizing Affair, and what has been already published, are too few Sheets to make a bound Volume of.

\* \* The first Number of this Continuation will be published on *Monday* the 29th of *July*.

ERRATA. In Page 214, read *May* the 30th instead of 13th ; and in Page 138, &c. read *Fifteen* of the *Jury* instead of *Sixteen*, *challenged* by the *Prosecutor's Council*, and *Three* by the *Prisoner*.

